"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

and that, under that state of things, so far from its being

true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive

TED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY.

THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of COMBRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in event war is weather for cax be interpreted with from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invarience in the power to company to the war, and must camp if on, accounts to the control of the control of insurrection, Congress the power to control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts in the control of the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if on, accounts the control of the war, and must camp if the control of the control of the control of the camp is the control of the

has power to cory on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON,

conding to the Laws of war ; and by the laws of war,

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial

array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."-J. Q. Adams.

wind.

Ind.

Ind. ER DAVIS. tant you are thinking of nan is passing to his seat; is can be, and belong to l, well-moulded, compact buth of silver in it, slight

and pleasant smile; not open thim, and yet not an-arpstrings—with a step as in as an athlete's, you have n as an athlete's, you have Toledo than the war club you might know without you might know without ear and pleasant. Look or wrong, one of the most Iall is that Chairman of on Affairs, Henry Winter THOMAS. challenge your attention. hite hair combed forward neight fashion, his courtea fine specimen of that ld-school gentleman. It Id-school gentleman. It of Maryland. His clear inished like a coin, does seldom speaks, and that aber breaks in upon him. ryland bayonet " is in the ness: "Why, Mr. Speak-been these many years

never interrupted a gen-se of my life!" The re-and helps to finish out the OUTWELL. white linen, with dark d a manly face, his mus-nanic trait of green turtle, nce, you set down for a m member, whose decla-dark in ever think of exact or it is ex-Governor Bout-of the very ablest mem-

DAWES. th you, with his eyes look-face, and little about him ty or his calling, is the on Elections, Henry L. New England man; and, earnest effective speaker. is very night with a burn-ices oftenest heard in this though men are slow to eatch the sound of the tolof "one," but when it is "twelve," we cease to be. Norton from your own erests of the district he hole country, he speaks every way to the purpose, ation and respect of the is worth all the windmills

ROOKS. of the Express, and his at not "admirable"! His fringe of whiskers, "sets" eer of his eyeglasses, which eers down his face like a ers down his face like a s fairly glitter with excite-own back as if he faced own back as if he faced row thinner as he shuts words, like a steel trap-n under his coat; an ab-tution; the institution of whole story as he strikes and patriotically, against e country. "The gentle-eaks wondrons well for a James Brooks's talk and

s William's Susan, but less atin hair, as black as the ses; quick as a cat, and, as lescribed him, "face all le sketch of the author of S. S. Cox of Ohio. His for mischievous members e, and a choice extract is escribes his attendance at somewhere abroad, upon gro clergyman, and was cox. gro clergyman, and was ake it out a miracle sow, he Beast of Balaam upon he Beast of Balants of as smart as a whip, as atter loses something from ill's-darning needleish; or scale of being and illustrate about his subject and thumming bird. HENCK.

humming bru.

HENCK.

is a face with a good deal
nan cast, and reminding
then; the well-balanced
the shoulders; hair short
ittle like the "tawny tira moustache; eyes small
ing not so much intellecchin jutting out from his
rell put together, but not
of the Committee ou Milnare looking; Robert C.
Major General of volunman; uses short words,
the places when he take;
his feet down firmly when
ghe to belong to the irridaWhen amused, his face
re think that when angry
be so very "slow" to the
ter frown slips down from
to the chin, but it doesn't any
war like a storm, hanck to the chin, but it doesn't away like a storm in the the fifties, Gen. Schenck tood. Loyal to the heart upon floor and field is

ers say the prisoners cap tersburg on the 20th ult at 51 different regiments

THE LIBERATOR -18 PUBLISHED -

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

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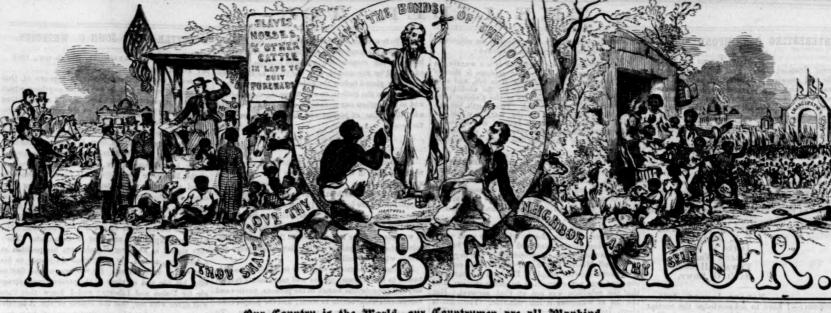
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risel to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tee, bu are not responsible for any debts of the demitted, not not responsible for any debts of the part, vis .— WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCT, EDMIND JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1752.

## Refuge of Oppression.

SEDITIOUS COPPERHEAD UTTERANCES.

Resolutions adopted by the New York Democratic nerhead Convention, recently held at Syracuse: Resolved, That if in the platform and candidates chicago Convention, the now pervading continents of the country shall be disregarded, are sentiments of the country shall be disregarded, are sentiments of the country shall be disregarded, that body shall place another war candidate i platform before the people, making a third wo of this character entering the canvass for the esidency, there will be no real issue to decide at at election. Each party, and each declaration of fey and principles, will be alike on the fundatal question of the day, viz: shall it be peace shall it be war? Therefore we enjoin upon that the day of half to retain a portion of who are already war pledged. The candi-es who are already war pledged. The candi-es already nominated represent all who cling to hes already nominated represent an war ching the war; and it is sound policy to gather together, more one banner, all who entertain the opposite estiment, and are in favor of restoring the country has former condition of prosperity and happiness, and to be obtained by the election of a Peace Present the property of a Peace policy. selved, That we offer our solemn protest st the usurpation and lawless despotism of the ent Administration as subversive to the Constioffer our solemn protest in and destructive to the liberties of the people.

has denied to sovereign States all constitutional

hts, and thereby absolved them from all allegiance. has trampled down a nation that it may install a despotism upon the ruins of constitutional It has, and is still waging a bloody and entless war for the avowed purpose of extermi-

fathers, and blotting from the American consought to arouse and enlist the most wicked and ignant passions, reckless of all ends if it but vert the existing Government and immolate erican citizens. It has struck down freedom of ech and of the press. It has stripped from the erican citizen his panoply, and consigned him to basile without process of law, without charge, without the opportunity of trial. It has, by ary power, violently suppressed the freedom of and dictated elections at the point of the et. It has annulled every constitutional guar-for the protection of the citizen, and subted him to an irresponsible tyranny of military

Resolved, That to the end that such wrongs may refresed and evils removed, and the liberties of the people under the Constitution re-established, at a free canvass and a free and unrestricted ection is not only a means of preserving these esnt itself is instituted, and must be preserved at all zards; and we warn this Administration to desist encroachments upon the rights and liberties of edizens of our State, and resolve that we will the chizens of our State, and resolve that we will use tolerate the rule of martial law, of military instremene with elections, or any more arbitrary arists of our citizens; to the maintenance of which we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred

ed, That the reply of President Lincoln to Messs. Clay and Holcombe, that any propositions oxing to the establishment of peace on the basis of egrity of the whole Union must, as a condieccedent, be also accompanied by the entire official avowal that the object of the war is not the restoration of the Union, but the destruction Southern States or permanent sepdion, and furnishes unmistakable the granting of unlimited means and money for purpose of preserving the Union, which they used and are still using for the base end of ring State institutions, advancing party ests, and establishing them in perman

red, That it is our bounden duty, and will our glorious privilege, to hold in lasting recollect a those fearless men who, in the national councils the press, or in popular assemblies—while violat-job aw of the land, but in defence of imperiled entry have stood up for the people's rights and de-med for peace. We shall not fail to remember glorious men who, imprisoned in bastiles, driv-alo exile, subjected to gross indignities, or sufries, reproaches, or the loss of liberty or And the Democratic party hereby sol-ges its faith and honor that all such perir families, should their own lives be ked, shall be distinctly remembered and abun rewarded and honored in due time. And w most distinctly announce that such sacri-in defence of imperiled public liberties in this ful crisis, will first of all be considered in the which we trust is not distant, when the great

detolutions adopted by the Maine Copperhead Conation, recently held at Bangor:

Resolved, That the Democratic party is, and ever as been, the true Union party of the country.

The results of the country of the country.

The results conservative principles and enlightened elliptic the United States have hitherto been present attended, our resources developed, our wealth crossed, the rights of the States and people maining, public peace and domestic tranquillity send, public peace and domestic tranquillity se-cel, and the respect of the world for our free gov-bent established; and, God helping us, this on we will maintain intact, and hand it down as heless beritage to our posterity.

membered. That the existing fratricidal and calam-ins war is the result of the political ascendency in pose of fanatical and factious extremists; that the deliberate invasion by the national administra-tion of the rights of the States, the elective fran-cine, the freedom of speech and of the press, and the personal security of the citizen, and its avowed repose to prosecute this war for the abolition of darry, or until that institution shall be abandoned, this is a policy at once unconstitutional and revoats a policy at once unconstitutional and revoof the President when he entered upon the of his office, and of the unanimous voice of sid in any spirit of oppression, or for the pur-e of conquest or subjugation, or for overthrow-or interfering with the rights or established inis apprenacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the everal States unimpaired; and when these results are attained, the war ought to cease.

Resolved, That the only ground of hope for the Preservation of the Union, under the Constitution, and the only ground of the propose and of maintaining the rights of the people and of the people and of maintaining the rights of the people and of

Resolved, That the administration, by its corruption and imbecility, has shown itself incapable of a successful prosecution of the war, and from its levity, tergiversations and bad faith, is manifestly

ncapable of negotiating an honorable peace.
Resolved, That we stand where the Democracy have always stood, in favor of the Constitution and of the rights of the States and the people, and of the entire Union, in all its integrity, and of an honorable peace at the earliest practicable moment.

## Selections.

"DOWN IN TENNESSEE."

detail of a visit made by the author to the Army of the Cumberland, soon after the battle of Stone River, with personal reminiscences of the many gallant and famous men then connected with that army, and a nar-rative of the singular events which led to the recent visit of Messrs. Gilmore and Jaquess to Richmond. The account of that visit, and of the interview with

Jefferson Davis, which was its chief feature, contain
August next, over the whole States in rebellion. To ed in the last chapters of the volume, has already been given to the public in the Atlantic Monthly, and widely copied by the newspaper press. But there are some statements in regard to the previous expedition of Colonel Jaquess alone within the rebel lines, which have not been published elsewhere, and which will be found of interest. It appears that the permission for the Colonel to be absent from his command and to enter the enemy's country was obtained in a personal interview of the author of this work with President Lincoln, which is thus described :-

Grant had then " watered his horse in the Mississippi." Vicksburg was beleaguered, but Pendleton was inside of it with twenty-five thousand men, and Johnston outside of it with thirty thousand. Grant had only thirty thousand. Reinforcements had not then reached him. Might he not be crushed before they arrived?

The President was very anxious. He showed none of his usual humor and vivacity. Despatch after despatch came in from the War Department, and he opened them glanged at their contract. and he opened them, glanced at their signatures, and then, laying them down unread, said: "Only from Hooker;" or, "Only from Burnside;" or, "Only from Grant yet? Why don't we hear from Grant?"

If the life of his own son had been quivering in

and he opened them, glanced at their signatures, and then, laying them down unread, said: "Only from Hooker;" or, "Only from Burnside;" or, "Only from Rosecrans. Nothing from Grant yet? Why don't we hear from Grant?"

If the life of his own son had been quivering in the balance at Vicksburg, he could not have shown more anxiety. I had not voted for him. I had not admired or even supported him; but that night I should be admired or even supported him; but that night I should b admired or even supported him; but that night I regretted that I had not, for what I saw satisfied me that there is not a drop in Abraham Lincoln's veins

It was hard to get him to the subject, but at last I did do it; and then he told me, in a clear, direct way, the terms he would give the Rebels. A portion of these terms have since been included in the Amnesty Proclamation; the rest I do not feel at liberty to make public. They are all, however, em-bodied in a few of his words:

"The country will do everything for safety—

nothing for revenge."

If Washington ever uttered a grander or a nobler sentence than that, I have not read it. Finally, he said:

You can write what I say to General Rosecran and he can communicate as much of it as he thinks best to Colonel Jaquess; but the Colonel must not understand that he has these terms from me. We want peace, but we can make no overtures to the Rebels. They already know that the country would welcome them back, and treat them generously and magnanimously."
It was nearly twelve o'clock when I rose to go.

As I did so, he said:
"Don't go yet. I shall stay here until I get something from Grant."

thing from Grant."

The next morning I wrote to Rosecrans, and within ten days, Colonel Jaquess started for the South. At Baltimore he reported to General Schenck, who forwarded him on to Fortress Monroe. After arriving there he explained his business to General Dix, and he, after much delay, allowed him to smuggle himself on board a flag-of-truce boat going to the Rebel lines. He was in his uniform, but the rebel officer who met our flag said to him: "Go where you please, and stay as long as you

Any one can see the great risk he ran. He had no credentials; nothing to show who he was, or why he came; and there were ten chances to one that he would be taken as a spy. But what was that to him? He was about his Master's work, and his trust in

He was about his Master's work, and his trust in the Master, which "whoever runs may read" in his face, carried him safely through.

He went to Petersburg, and there they came to him. As Nicodemas came to the great Peace-Makers, so the rebel leaders came to him, by night. Disguised, and under false names, they sought him to ask the way to peace.

"Lay down your arms, go back to your allegiance, and the country will deal kindly and generously by you," he said to all of them.

From all he had the same answer:

"We are tired of the war. We are willing to give no slavery. We know it is gone; but so long

give up slavery. We know it is gone; but so long as our Government holds out, we must stand by it. We cannot betray it and each other."

And this is now the sentiment of the Southern people, and of a vast number of the Southern lead-

He remained at Petersburg several weeks, and then returned to Baltimore. From there he wrote to the President, but received no answer. He waited there a long time; but, no answer coming, finally returned to his regiment. Then he wrote me, stating the result of his visit, and saying he wanted to go again, with liberty to see Jeff. Davis. [Other leaders he had seen, but Davis he had not seen.] This letter came just as I was setting out on the second of the secon Other leaders he had seen, but Davis he had not seen.] This letter came just as I was setting out on a long journey; and, naturally concluding that if he had not answered Jaquess, he would not answer me, I did not write to the President. Thus the affair rested till I returned from my journey. Then I went to Washington, and, calling on Mr. Lincoln, asked him why he had not answered Jaquess.

"I never received his letter," was the unexpected seenly.

In a few weeks Jaquess joined me in Baltimore. The following statements in regard to a projected general servile insurrection in the summer of 1863, and why the plans of its originators were not fulfilled, is contained in an earlier chapter of "Down in Tennessee," and is well worthy of notice:—

One day, as I was sitting alone with Rosecrans, an Aide handed him a letter. He opened it, ceased doing half a dozen other things, and became at once absorbed in its contents. He re-read it, and then, handing it to me, said: "Read that. Tell me what you think of it." I read it. Its outside indiwhat you think of it." I read it. Its outside indi-cated it had come from "over Jordan," and had "a hard road to travel," but its inside startled me. It was written in a round, unpractised hand, and though badly spelled, showed its author familiar with good Southern English. Its date was May 18th, 1863, and it began thus:

"GENERAL:-A plan has been adopted for communications throughout the whole South, which is now disclosed to some general in each military department in the Secesh States, in order that they may act in concert, and thus insure us success.

arm themselves with any and every kind of weapon that may come to hand, and commence operations that may come to hand, and commence operations by burning all railroad and county bridges, tearing up all railroad tracks, and cutting and destroying telegraph wires,—and when this is done, take to the woods, the swamps, or the mountains, whence they may emerge, as occasions may offer, for provisions or for further depredations. No blood is to be shed except in self-defence.

"The corn will be in roasting ear about the first of August and poor this and by foraging on the

of August, and upon this, and by foraging on the farms by night, we can subsist. Concerted movement at the time named would be successful, and the rebellion be brought suddenly to an end." The letter went on with some details which I can-

"The plan will be simultaneous over the whole South, and yet few of all engaged will know its whole extent. Please write '1' and 'approved,' and send by the bearer, that we may know you are

"Be assured, General, that a copy of this letter has been sent to every military department in the rebel States, that the time of the movement may

"Innocent blood! Women and children!"

"Yes, women and children. If you let the blacks loose, they will rush into carnage like horses into a burning barn. St. Domingo will be multiplied by a "But he says no blood is to be shed except in self-

defence."
"He says so, and the leaders may mean so, but they cannot restrain the rabble. Every slave has some real or fancied wrong, and he would take such

a time to avenge it."

"Well, I must talk with Garfield. Come, go with We crossed the street to Garfield's lodgings, and

found him bolstered up in bed, quite sick with a fe-ver. The General sat down at the foot of his bed, and handed him the letter. Garfield read it over carefully, and then laying it down, said:

carefully, and then laying it down, said:

"It will never do, General. We don't want to
whip by such means. If the slaves, of their own
accord, rise and assert their original right to themselves, that will be their own affair; but we can have no complicity with them without outraging the mor-al sense of the civilized world." "I knew you'd say so; but he speaks of other department commanders—may they not come into it 2".

"Yes, they may, and that should be looked to.

Send this letter to \_\_\_\_\_, and let him head off 'the movement.'" It was not thought prudent to intrust the letter to

It was not thought prudent to intrust the letter to the mails; nor with the railway, infested with guerillas, was it a safe document to carry about the person. A short shrift and a long rope might have been the consequence of its being found on a traveller. So, ripping open the top of my boot, I stowed it snugly away in the lining, and took it North. On the 4th of June following, Garfield wrote me that he had just heard from the writer of the letter; that five out of our nine department. the letter; that five out of our nine department commanders had come into the project, and, subse-quently, that another general had also promised it s support.
But I can say no more. All the world knows

But I can say no more. All the world knows that the insurrection did not take place. The outbreaks in September, among the blacks of Georgia and Alabama, were only parts of the plan, the work of subordinate leaders, who, maddened at the work of supordinate featers, who, maddened at the miscarriage of the grand scheme, determined to carry out their own share of the programme at all hazards. It was a gigantic project, and the trains were all laid, the matches all lighted, and two conwere all laid, the matches all lighted, and two centuries of cruel wrong were about to be avenged in a night, when a white man said to the negro: "You will slaughter friends and enemies. You will wade knee deep in innocent blood; God cannot be with you in midnight massacre!" A white man said that, and the uplifted torch fell from the negro's hand, and saying, "I will bloom y time; I will leave vengeance to God," he went back to his toil and his stripes.

mination we will have."

Here is the evidence of a plain perversion by the Courier of the position of Mr. Davis, and of a dishonest attempt to make it appear that he would meet the North in negotiations for a restored Union. The uniform testimony of the rebel leaders and the rebel organs of opinion is, that, so far as they are concerned, peace is only attainable by an acknowledgment of their independence. So said Commissioner Ould to Mr. Gilmore and Col. Jaquess. So repeated Secretary Benjamin, and so emphatically reiterated Jeff. Davis. Here is the expressed opinion of the Richmond Enquirer. If this is not sufficiently emphatic to convince any Northern man who hopes for peace by compromise, then he would not be convinced by one risen from the dead:

"Says on our own terms, we can accept no peace

until that State shall decide by a free vote whether she shall remain in the old Union or ask admission into the Confederacy.

Consent on the part of the Federal government to give up to the Confederacy its proportion of the navy as it stood at the time of secession, or to pay for the

Ame.

Yielding up all pretensions on the part of the Fede- as a whole, was to strike a death-blow to the insti-

tion."

The sooner our people fully realize that this is a life and death struggle, the quicker will this rebellion be ended. But we to the country if we heed the syrea cry of an armistice and peace! Like the fabled song of the Lurly, it will woo the ship of state

# VINDICATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

ment," purporting to have been signed by B. F. Wade, as Chairman of the Senate "Committee on Rebellious States," and H. Winter Davis as Chairman of the House committee on the same subject, animadverting with great severity upon the action of President Lincoln, in reference to the bill passed by Congress at the close of its last session, to provide for the readmission or organization of States in rebellion. It was sent to the President for his approval within less than an hour before the sine die adjournment. He did not sign it, and gave the reason why, in the form of a public proclamation, inviting a careful consideration of its provisions by the entire people of the nation. This actis characterized, by the two gentlemen before named, as a most dangerous usurpation of power not granted by the Constitution. It seems not to have occurred to them that, whilst they were charging upon the Executive an assumption of power not granted, they themselves, in their very questionable mode, to as the afficiency of the violability of slave property admits of such a constitution of that topic is foreign to the point in issue here. In the state of public opinion indicated, the bill in question is passed by the two Houses of Congress, and sent to the President for his approval almost in the last moments of the session. In that bill is found a section, of which the following is a copy:

"Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That all persons held to involuntary servitude or labor in the States aforesaid are hereby emancipated and discharged therefrom, and they and their posterity shall be restrained of liberty, under pretence of any claim to such service or labor, the courts of the United States shall, on habeas corpus, discharge themselves, in their very questionable mode, to as the courts of the United States shall, on habeas corpus, discharge themselves, in their very questionable mode, to as the courts of the United States shall, on habeas corpus, discharge themselves, in their very questionable mode, to as the courts of the u themselves, in their very questionable mode, to say the least of it, of supporting the Government, were assuming a power which did not belong to them. assuming a power which that he belong to them. To their names are fixed their respective legislative titles, although in no sense can their address be regarded as a legislative act. Why attempt to give it seemingly the weight of official authority, when importance can be ascribed to it than ould belong to the act of any other two private ndividuals of equal intelligence and standing in the community? Congress had adjourned. As members of the respective committees, their functions were suspended for the time being, and what they did was extra legislative, to every intent and purpose. The semi-official condemnation of the President

pose. The semi-official condemnation of the President's act, in withholding his name from the bill, was a clear transcendence of authority, or abuse of official position. But what was the act thus extralegislatively denounced as a usurpation? The bill involved the solution of some of the most difficult involved the solution of some of the most difficult questions which were ever presented for the considation of an American statesman.

How the so called seconded States were to be restor-

How the so-called seceded States were to be restor-ed to their original position in the Government, after all their acts of treason and blood-stained rebellion committed against it, is a question which has perplexed the minds of the best men of the nation. Various are the opinions of public men upon the point itself, and still more various are they as to the time and circumstances appropriate for its discussion. Many say, put down the rebellion, compel a submission to the Government, and then, and not till then, discuss the status of the States in rebellion; then determine in what way, and upon what terms, they nine in what way, and upon what terms, they determine in what way, and upon what terms, they shall resume their original relation to the Government. The rebellion has proved to be a most gigantic one, inaugurated and prosecuted by the slave-holders of the South with two objects in view, the accomplishment of either of which would satisfy their fiendish ambition—first, a dissolution of the Union, with a recognition of their so-called Confed-

which would not meet with great opposition. The progress of the rebellion thus far has effectually illustrated this. Environed by difficulties on every hand, the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, cautiously according to the progressing steps of public opinion, adopted a policy, as a military measure modified in the light of developing circumstances and happening events, having for its object the crippling of the rebels in their greatest source of strength. It will be understood that reference is here made to the emancipation policy, into the details of which it is not proposed to go, as into the details of which it is not proposed to go, as to do so would necessarily swell this article to a great length. Suffice it to say that it is difficult to

great length. Sumee it to say that it is difficult to see how there can be a difference of opinion as to its justice and wisdom. Some of the best Union men thought the President too slow in the adoption of this policy, and not vigorous enough in practically enforcing it; and, if the course of legislation in Congress, in reference to the rebellion, and of prominent men active in that legislation be correct. "Save on our own terms, we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday rather than yield an iota of them, and our terms are:

Recognition by the enemy of the independence of the Confederate States.

Withdrawal of the Yankee forces from every foot of Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with sufficient rapidity and strength. The instrument in the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with sufficient rapidity and strength. The instrument in the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missers in rebellion were not dealt with the Confederate States. prominent men active in that legislation, be correctly remembered, Senator B. F. Wade, of Ohio, and Representative H. Winter Davis, of Maryland, were ouri.
Withdrawal of the Yankee soldiers from Maryland mill that State shall decide by a free vote whether she hall remain in the old Union or ask admission into the Consent on the part of the Federal government to who had been speeding on the rebellion by direct or indirect means. In short, the complaint, with this class of friends, was that the President was too forceful. fearful of transcending the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution. The emancipation policy,

Yielding up all pretensions on the part of the Federal government to that portion of the old Territories which lies west of the Confederate States.

An equitable settlement on the basis of our absolute independence and equal rights of all accounts of the public debt and public lands, and the advantages accruing from foreign treaties."

These provisions the Enquirer says comprise "the minimum of what we must require before we lay in the same that the proper chords are touched; to make slavery the author of its own destruction, by turning its strength against its own life. Its purpose These provisions the Enquirer says compliants of the second of the secon as "to enforce and collect treasure for our reimbursement out of the wealthy cities in the enemies' country," &c. The Enquirer says, and says truly, "it is all or nothing. This Confederacy or the Yankee nation, one or the other, goes down, down to perdition."

The expect our people fully realize that this is a to the military power of the Government, under the Constitution, being ample to sever the relation between a slave and his master in rebellion, a great many able men entertain the opinion that the Government of the United States, whilst its Constitution remains unchanged, has no power, by an act of simple legislation, to dissolve the relation between master and slave in any of the States. The write Against the Charges Contained in the Wade and Davis Circular.

Davis Circular.

Davis Circular.

Davis Circular. To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

Sir: With no little surprise I have read an address headed "To the supporters of the Government," purporting to have been signed by B. F.

to remove, by legislation, any overshadowing evil affecting the welfare of the entire people as a nation; but he is free to admit that this view is in conflict with the opinions of perhaps a majority of the people. He affirms that neither of the clauses com-

disloval. The relation of master and slave is blotted out of existence as to all persons, loyal or rebel, by a single stroke of legislation; and the effect would be to abandon the war policy of emancipa-tion windled as a military function, and to assume would be to abandon the war policy of emancipa-tion, wielded as a military function, and to assume this new ground, the correctness of which would be doubted by many of the friends of the President, and denied by all of his opponents. There were some other sections in the bill of very doubtful pro-priety. They are, however, too long to introduce here and discuss. But was there not enough in it to admonish the President of the necessity of taking time for mature deliberation, and did he not adont the very means of making that deliberation adopt the very means of making that deliberation profitable? If what he did was an act of usurpation, then have many acts of usurpation, of similar character, been committed by several of his illustrious predecessors. On the 6th of November, 1812, Mr. Madison sent a special message to Congress, in the following words, which explain themselves:—

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The bill entitled 'An act supplementary to the The bill entitled 'An act supplementary to the acts heretofore passed on the subject of a uniform rule of naturalization,' which passed the two Houses at the last session of Congress, having appeared to me liable to abuse by aliens having no real purpose of effectuating a naturalization, and, therefore, has not been signed; and having been presented at an hour too near the close of the session to be returned with objections for reconsideration, the bill failed to become a law. I recommend that provision be now made in favor of aliens entitled to the contemplated benefit, under such regulations as will prevent advantage being taken of it for improper purposes."

In the sixth annual message of President Jack-

In the sixth annual message of President Jackson, dated the 2d December, 1834, he said: "I have not been able to satisfy myself that the bill entitled 'An act to improve the navigation of the Wabash river, which was sent to me at the close of your last session, ought to person and there leave vengeance to God," he went back to his toil and his stripes.

HOW PEACE MAY BE ATTAINED.

The opposition press are pursuing a very disingenuous course with regard to the peace question. Assiduously endeavoring to inoculate the public mind with the belief that an honorable peace is now attainable, they utterly ignore the unanimous expressions of rebel sentiment to the contrary. Thus the Courier, reviewing Mr. Gilmore's statement of his interview with Jeff. Davis, says:

"What we learn from it is simply that Mr. Davis will not negotiate on the basis of emancipation, or the surrender of State independence, to a numerical majority of individuals or States, however great. We shall yet see, perhaps, that when the government of the North is ready to meet us."

But Mr. Davis himself held no such position. He

the States, and of securing an honorable peace, is by expelling from power the present corrupt, imbecile and revolutionary administration, and substituting in its place an administration which will conduct the government according to the requirements of the Constitution, and protect all parties in the full enjoyment of their constitutional rights, privileges and immunities.

Resolved, That the administration, by its corruptation and substitution and substitutions.

Let Jaquess go again. There is no telling what he may accomplish."

The dearer days before the adjournment of congress. One, denominated the opinions of politicians, North and South, that it is trumentality had so moulded and through that he war — "Must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight his battles, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for independence—and that or extermination we will have."

Let Jaquess go again. There is no telling what he may accomplish."

The President turned about on his chair, and on a declaring that the war

— "Must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight his battles, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for independence—and that or extermination we will have."

Lin a few weeks Jaquess joined me in Baltimore.

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Lin a few days before the and through that instrumentality had so moulded and through that instrumentality had so moulded the opinions of politicians, North and South. The politicians, North and South the days before the adjournment of Congress. One, denominate the opinions and thus defeated. Again, in 1833, the same President (Jackson) sent a message to the Senate of the United States, dated the 4th December, 1833, vetoing Mr. Clay's land bill, passed at the close of the previous session. The following is a copy of the first paragraph of that message:—

first paragraph of that message:—

"To the Senate of the United States:
At the close of the last session of Congress, I received from that body a bill entitled 'An act to appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands of the United States, and for granting lands to certain States.' The brief period then remaining before the rising of Congress, and the extreme pressure of official duties, unavoidable on such occasions, did not leave me sufficient time for that full consideration of the subject which was due to its great importance. Subsequent consideration and reflection have, however, confirmed the objections to the bill which presented themselves to my mind upon its first perusal, and have satisfied me that it ought not to become a law. I felt myself, therefore, constrained to withhold from it my approval, and now return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with the reasons on which my dissent is founded."

But I now refer to the disposition made by the same President, on the 2d of March, 1837, of a bill described in a paper, of which the following is a

"Reasons of the President for retaining the bill designating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenue of the United States:

nating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenue of the United States:

Washington, March 3, 1837, before 12, P. M. }

The bill from the Senate entitled 'An act designating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenues of the United States,' came to my hands yesterday, at 2 o'clock, P. M. On perusing it, I found its provisions so complex and uncertain that I deemed it necessary to obtain the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States on several important questions touching its constructions and effect before I could decide on the disposition to be made of it. The Attorney General took up the subject immediately, and his reply was reported to me this day at 5 o'clock, P. M. As this officer, after a careful and laborious examination of the bill, and a distinct expression of his opinion on the points proposed to him, still came to the conclusion that the construction of the bill, should it become a law, would be a subject of much perplexity and doubt, (a view of the bill entirely concident with my own,) and as I cannot think it proper, in a matter of such vital interest, and of such constant application, to approve a bill so liable to diversity of interpretation, and more especially, as I per, in a matter of such vital interest, and of such constant application, to approve a bill so liable to diversity of interpretation, and more especially, as I have not had time, amid the duties constantly pressing on me, to give the subject that deliberate consideration which its importance demands, I am constrained to retain the bill without acting definitely thereon: and to the end that my reasons for this step may be fully understood, I shall cause this paper, with the opinion of the Attorney General and the bill in question, to be deposited in the Department of State.

Andrew Jackson."

President Lincoln's proclamation is an act similar to the act of President Jackson as above delineated by himself. The bill passed by the recent Congress has not been definitively acted on by him. What may be not been definitive disposition of it when Congress again meets, is yet to be determined. He has invited a consideration of its provisions by the people. Wherein does his usurpation consist? Is it in his retention of the bill, without having up to this time signed it? Or does the usurpation lie in the invitation given to the people to aid him in the consideration of its provisions? If this be usurpation, it is usurpation in the mildest form ever yet conceived of.

It is apprehended, however, that the usurpation intended to be charged is supposed to be found in the conclusion of the proclamation, where it says:—

"And while I am also unprepared to declare that the free State Constitutions and Governments already adopted and installed in Arkanasa and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for nought, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens, who have set up the same, as to further effort, or to declare a constitu tional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in the States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping the States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted; nevertheless, I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it, and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the Executive aid and assistance to any such people so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in which cases Military Governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

conclusion of the proclamation, where it says:-

The idea of the learned gentlemen seems to have been that the President had proclaimed to the na-tion that he would give the bill the efficacy of a law, in his own way, although he had not given it the Executive approval required by the Constitu-tion. In other words, that he would enforce it or not, according to the dictates of his own will. Mr. Lincoln is too good a lawyer to have ever entertain such a view of the elements of a valid act of C gress, or of his power in executing the law. Any one who is disposed to treat him fairly cannot doubt that his meaning was, that until an act should be passed by the representatives of the nation such as he could feel "prepared," as a part of the law-making power, to approve, he would adopt the system outlined in the bill which had been sent to him, (but which he was not then "prepared" to sanc-tion,) and make it a guide for the military governtion,) and make it a guide for the military governments necessary to be established in the absence of organized loyal civil ones. It must be remembered that the Executive Department is an independent branch of the law-making power, and is bound under the obligations of its official oath to have its conscience and its judgment satisfied before it appends its official signature to a bill, no matter how maturely it may have been considered by the Senate and House of Representatives. Upon a review, then, of the whole ground: (the time of the passage of the bill, within the last hour of the session; the character of its provisions; the still apparent strucof the bill, within the last hour of the session; the character of its provisions; the still apparent struggle of the rebellion, justifying an honest doubt, at least, whether the legislation embodied in it was not premature; and the precedents cited of acts of former Presidents of parallel character;) the charges of Executive usurpation, so injudiciously and so un-profitably made, have not a shadow of foundation profitably made, have not a shadow of foundation to rest upon. If they had come from acknowledged enemies, no vindication would have been necessary; but they come from professed friends of the Gov ernment! Is this a time for assaults of this character to come from such a quarter? They may as sist in the destruction of the Union, but cannot i the slightest degree contribute to its preservation.

I am, respectfully, yours,

J. G. M.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

S. R. URBINO, JAMES M. STONE,

EDWARD HABICH,

NAHANT, August 25, 1864.

you have in view, if we should disorganize before

supporters of the Baltimore and Cleveland nomina tions, in order that the friends of both may coalesce

and unite upon an early day for holding such a convention as you propose. I am satisfied that I do not assume too much in saying that my friends will unite

heartily in such a movement.

A really popular Convention, upon a broad and liberal basis, so that it could be regarded as a convo-

in which it was called, without consideration of per-'in which it was called, without consideration of per-sons or political cliques, and without reference to bygone situations, rising to the level of the occasion and taking the conditions of the country as they present themselves to-day, could safely be trusted to

propose such a policy and name such a man as should, and undoubtedly would, receive the cordial

ures cannot be made to succeed.

peace. If it is practicable to attain this result, is would not be paying too dearly for it—taking als

disastrous anarchy.

ests of the country,

I am, very truly yours,
J. C. FREMONT.

POLICY.

ful profusion in order to do away with an institution

which it cannot constitutionally meddle with—they must naturally think that we are overstepping the bounds of justice, and endeavoring to make our

Now, it is notorious to every fair-minded man who

has followed the course of public opinion in Europe

ince our war broke out, that one prominent charge

for a long time brought against our government for a long time orough equality commit itself to there was, that it did not openly commit itself to the cause of emancipation. Mr. Beecher endeav-

Mr. Lincoln's issuing his emancipation proclamation so late, and to maintain the earnestness of the North

eight subjugate the right of our opponents.

rst proceeding to organize something better.

To this end I suggest that a direct effort be made

ate understanding between the

SAM'L G. HOWE.

Extract from a Discourse on Morals in America, delivered in the Unitarian Church, Albany, N. Y. July 3, 1864, by Charles G. Ames.

July 3, 1894, by Charles G. Ames.

I proceed to speak of slavery as of other moral diseases under whose infection the nation's virtue suffers. Our applogies only sink us deeper in the mire. Do we assert the negro's degraded and inferior condition? So much the meaner appears the bullying tyranny of a more advanged race. Do we say the South alone is responsible? So much the less excusable is our voluntary complicity. Do we attempt to show that slavery is a divine institution? We only display to mankind how inhuman and dev-We only display to mankind how inhuman and dev-

Attempt to show that slavery is a divine institution?

We only display to mankind how inhuman and devilish are our notions of divinity. Do we declare it is a difficult subject to deal with? So much the more earnestly should we have sought for wisdom, instead of taking counsel only of our prejudices. True, slavery can be defended: do you know of any abomination which cannot? "If slavery is not sin, nothing is sin," says our Chief Magistrate; and you would agree with him if you were the victim, even though the master were as much your superior as you claim to be above the negro.

It is a question of right; and such questions compel their own settlement. Even under the present stress, and with many encouragements to do right, we seek to avoid that settlement by unmanly avasions. The public sentiment which supports, the warpolicy of emancipating and arming the blacks is shame-faced and reluctant. It wants to abolish, but fears to be called "abolitionist." Certainly, nothing but military necessity could justify federal interference with local institutions, (as men construe the Constitution,) but since that necessity exists, why should not a Christian people rejoice to right a men construe the service of the the Constitution.) but since that necessity exists, why should not a Christian people rejoice to right a wrong? Why not rejoice that Providence thus commissions us to open prison-doors and break the fetters of the innocent? Why not rejoice that the war carries liberty to the slaves, just as we rejoice in the social regeneration it promises to the poor whites? Ah! if we rejoice, the grog-shops will taunt us as "negro-lovers," and we can bear anything but that the it is equivalent to being suspected of whites? Ah! if we rejoice, the grog-shops will taunt us as "negro-lovers," and we can bear anything but that!—it is equivalent to being suspected of "good will to men," or even of sympathy with the Universal Father! We prefer to disgrace ourselves by disclaiming sympathy with our colored countrymen, while we ask them to die in our defence!

"First pure, then peaceable." These hideous blotches of secession and treason are but the surface outbreak of a dire disease. God save the Republic from that quackery of statesmanship which seeks to drive the loathsome virus back into the blood, in order to restore the original status of the wretched pa-

der to restore the original status of the wretched pa-tient? Peace is the gift of God, not of the Devil: let us beware at whose hands we seek it. No wise counsels come from the evil inspirations of prejudice

Whether the negro can rise or not is a que which will settle itself when we cease to keep him down, and when he shall be made secure in the enjoyment of those means of culture and progress which are found very necessary to the elevation of white men. Till then, silence will be a crime. Untimely, foolish and wicked words may be spoken on this as on every other subject; and I cannot jus-tify many things which are said and done by anti-slavery men, any more than I can justify all the acts of our patriot fathers during the revolution. To err nan; and there are wrongs on the right side but there can be no innocent silence so long as there is a slave. If there has been a fanatical opposition to slavery, so much the more cursed be slavery! for "oppression maketh a wise man mad;" and such madness is better than indifference.

I speak not as a friend of the negro only, but as a friend of Man-as one of the race, profoundly con-vinced that justice is good for us all-as a Christian freeman, asking no privileges, and willing to share none, to which I would not welcome all mankind. God give me grace to be despised along with the humblest who share our nature, if despised one must be for acknowledging relationship to the least of all God's children. In truth, there is a thousandfold more need to save the white man from the guilt of being an oppressor, than to save the black man from the wrong of being oppressed. The more we treat him as if he were a brute, the more like brutes do we ourselves become. Thus the pro-slav-ery spirit of the North has lowered the tone of our whole morality. How could there be any genuine love of the Good, where there was so much hatred and contempt? Righteousness alone exalts; hatred proves itself to be murder. Already has negro hatred cost us half a million lives! Do not tell me all this woe is chargeable to anti-slavery men; liberty is as good as slavery, any day; and all the room in this world must not be claimed for Wrong.

Through the elasticity of the American negro's nature, and the helping Mercy which works everywhere, he stands here on a higher plane than the pagans of his ancestral home; but it is by no good Il of ours, and even in spite of our selfish, persistent efforts to prevent it. I recognize and rejoice in the numerous exceptions; and yet cannot retract the charge. To-day, while a hundred black regiments stand willingly in the face of death, magnanimously forgiving and forgetting the wrong we have done them—their hearts throbbing with loyalty to the flag, and with the great hope that all the gener-ations of their children will drink the fulness of that loyalty to cup of liberty which they can but taste-the very air of these Free States shudders with the blaspl mous curses of a hundred thousand white freemen, who would willingly re-enslave or butcher these black Unionists, in the vain hope to coax the rebel masters back to the hypocritical pretence of allegioned.

When this prolific curse has been removed; when we are ourselves emancipated from the love and practice of injustice; when the controlling spirit of the people shall mould all institutions with wise refto the welfare of all classes ;-then shall be a nation exalted in righteousness. There will be no more rebellions, and no fear of invasions. If righteousness is a "breast-plate" to the individual man, then a righteous nation may be declared ironclad and impregnable.

We shall never outshine the ostentatious spler

of ancient nations; it is not for us to repeat the pyramids of Egypt, the hanging-gardens of Babylon, or the gorgeous palaces of Persepolis and Rome; but how much more glorious will be the picture of a wide land, covered with the happy homes of competence and content, where intelligence and virtue crown all the people as princes and potentates! Let us accept it as the appointed mission of our dear coun-try to give the world an example of what the human race may become by "love to God and the neighbor
—"to teach the nations how to live "—to illustrate on a continental scale, how perfect a type and how noble a style of manhood can be produced by freedom and righteousness! Not by freedom alone, though shielded by wisest laws and bravest hearts; but by freedom joined with righteousness—loyalty to the eternal law—without which freedom soon becomes a monstrous mockery. If we deem freedom in danger, we are justly alarmed: let us be still more afraid of wrong. Whatever lowers the moral standard of the people, that is the public enemy; whoever lowers it, he is the traitor! Only Christian faith and Christian works can save us. Uncompromising fidelity to the light God gives is Christian faith; doing the right thing—doing whatever ought to be done in any case—is Christian work. noble a style of manhood can be produ

We fight on the Lord's side only as we stand firm for all that is right against all that is wrong. Whether in the great conflict which now shakes the continent, or in that less noisy and less visible struggle which everywhere rages between the good and evil elements of American life, let us take care that we betray no trust, and leave no interest of public wel-fare or private virtue to suffer through our shortcomings. In single-hearted, pious patriotism, through victory and defeat, "let us have faith that right makes might; and, in that faith, let us, to the end, ve faith that rig dare to do our duty as we understand it."

"By all for which the Martyrs bore their agony and

By all the holy words of truth with which the Prophets By the Future which awaits us, by all the hopes which Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of

the Past,

And by the awful name of Him who for earth's freedon O ye people ! O my brothers ! let us choose the rightee

A few weeks ago, Lord Brougham, earnestly denouncing the conduct of Spain in breaking her engagements to suppress the slave trade in her West India possessions, quoted official documents to prove that the importation of slaves into Cuba had enormously increased for some years past. As many as between 30,000 and 40,000 of these unhappy negroes are now annually brought from Africa, and sold into slavery in that island.

### LIBERATOR. THE

to his facts and his arguments, and shall place before

our readers the conclusions to which they have brought

him. In the meanwhile, we shall indulge the hope

expressed by the author, that the book he has so op-

portunely placed before the public "may be employ

ed to arouse the listless, to encourage the desponding,

add, the cause of justice and humanity throughout

LOYALTY-MUTINY.

Some one has lately written a sketch of the promi-

nent Loyalists in our Revolutionary war. Loyalty is

a creditable thing. Loyalist is a respectable name. The men of the North at the present day (except the

the contrary, are rebels. This well-sounding name

produced so favorable an impression on my mind, that it was not until the second thought that I became con-

cious that the Loyalists of the Revolution were the

It is one of the tricks of power to apply honorable

names to the persons, parties and movements favora-

ble, and opprobrious names to the persons, parties and

ily use the phrases thus manufactured for them. To

prevent our minds from getting befogged by this in-

fluence of custom, it is needful occasionally to apply

square and compass, and compare the matter in ques-

government under which they had always lived.

ported power at the expense of right. Their main-

give it our countenance and support in every way, un-

til the rebellion is defeated? It is precisely here that a

to the slave required active demonstration against this

If a citizen contracts with another citizen, or with

the Government, to perform a certain service on con-

dition of certain terms of payment, the persistent

neglect (and still more the persistent refusal) of the

employer to fulfil those terms of payment is held, is it

not, to vacate and annul the specified obligation. The

person thus wronged, after more or less patient wait

ing for his wages, may rightfully, may he not, seek

employment elsewhere; and his demand for the hire

thus fraudulently withheld from him will stand good

against the delinquent employer, will it not, until it is

But people in power sometimes—yes, even oftener than sometimes—choose to disregard justice. They

sometimes refuse to pay the stipulated wages to their

laborers. This is bad enough. But they sometimes

of their acts often passes unnoticed. .

newspapers that mention it.

consent which silence implies ?

Since the Anti-Slavery movement began, my feel-

ings have never received so great a shock as on see

other party!

employer be a private person or the Government.

United States? This is the question.

copperheads) are loyalists; the men of the So

neonle whom we call Tories.

with the absolute right.

fare of the people.

distinction needs to be made.

the emancipation policy was adopted, he objects to the course of our Government as follows:

"The partisans of the North say it is a war for the abolition of slavery. Well, what evidence is there of that? President Lincoln denies it in toto, and says he would be no party to a war for the abolition of slavery. The official members of the Cabinet have all repeated the same denial. The North has declared that, if successful in the war, it would not abolish slavery. It has gone further, and offered to make every concession and give every security for the perpetuation of slavery, if the South will continue in the Union." BOSTON, August 20, 1864. General Fremont.—Sir: You must be aware of the wide and growing dissatisfaction, in the Republican ranks, with the Presidential nomination at Baltimore; and you may have seen notices of a movement, just commenced, to unite the thorough and earnest friends of a vigorous prosecution of the war in a new convention, which shall represent the settificities of all parties. striotism of all parties.

To facilitate that movement, it is emphatically ad-

To facilitate that movement, it is emphatically advisable that the candidates nominated at Cleveland and Baltimore should withdraw, and leave the field entirely free for such a united effort. Permit us, sir, to ask whether, in case Mr. Lincoln will with-Here a British opponent of our cause stigmatizes that very course which the *Post* says we ought to return to, in order to make friends abroad. And he goes into the matter at length, and advocates secesion because "the fugitive slave law and all the powers of the North are (were then) devoted to the maintenance of slavery." draw, you will do so, and join your fellow-citizens in this attempt to place the Administration on a basis broad as the patriotism of the country and as its needs.

(Signed)

we call Judge Halliburton, M. P., a most determined enemy of the North, which, he says, "not-withstanding all the cant and hypocrisy it has exhibited, is not for the emancipation of the negro."

We call Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who endeaving the says of th ored to convince the people of England that our Government was not committed to emancipation, an ernment was not committed to emancipation, and that the rebellion was not on that account. But the list of witnesses is interminable. The case is clear, indeed, to every impartial observer. The MAHANT, August 25, 1864.

Gentlemen:—I have to acknowledge the receipt your letter of the 20th, addressed to me in New adoption of the emancipation policy manifestly strengthened us abroad—not among the aristocracy, If your letter were in effect an appeal only to my strengthened is across—not among the aristocracy but with the people, the masses, the business men from whom the ruling public opinion emanates This has just been apparent in the effect of the President's dispatch to the Niagara Falls commis own sentiments in favor of a reunion of parties, I should not hesitate to renounce any personal views, but would be entirely ready to defer to the public sioners, which the secession organs abroad very carefully suppress, so far as it is in their power. Our safety against European intermeddling consists in resolutely adhering to the emancipation policy at all hazards.—Boston Journal. I expressed my readiness to retire in the event of a contingency which might have occurred at Balti-Having now definitely accepted the Cleve-comination, I have not the right to act indeland nomination, I have not the right to act inde-pendently of the truly patriotic and earnest party who conferred that honor upon me. In any event, it would be necessary first to consult with them.— It might, besides, have only the effect still further to unsettle the public mind, and defeat the object

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1864.

THE WRONG OF SLAVERY; the Right of Emancipa tion, and the Future of the African Race in the United States. By Robert Dale Owen. Philadel phia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

In March, 1863, the United States Secretary cation in mass of the people, and not the work of politicians, would command public confidence. Such a Convention, acting in the large and liberal spirit War appointed a Commission to examine and report upon the condition of the recently emancipated freedmen. The gentlemen selected for this important duty were-the Hon. Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana; Col James McKaye, of New York; and Dr. S. G. Howe of Boston. The result of the joint investigations of this Commission have been embodied in a Report prepared by Mr. Owen, as Chairman of the Con ion, and in two supplementary Reports-one by Col McKaye, the other by Dr. Howe. The volume before us has its origin in the labors performed by thes Commissioners, and the author has fully availed himself of the materials supplied by his able colleagues.

should, and undoubtedly would, receive the cordinal and united support of the patriotic masses of the people. To the great body of these, so far as my information allows me to form any opinion, I think that the following propositions would be acceptable:

1. Respect for the practical liberty and the contitutional rights and dignity of the citizen.

2. The maintenance of the dignity of the United Mr. Owen has divided his work into three parts In the First Part, under the head of " Slavery States in their relations to foreign powers.

3. The re-establishment of the Union; by peace if it is possible; by war if the employment of peacehas traced that system from its inception in this hemisphere, through its progress and development down the existing period-The narrative is painfully in Much has been said of late about peace, and you will therefore excuse me if I say here what I under teresting, comprising, as it does, the history of the extermination of the mild, hospitable and submissive stand by it. For me, peace signifies the integral re-establishment of the Union, without slavery; berace that once inhabited the West India Islands; the substitution of African for Indian slaves : a descripcause slavery is the source of all our political dissen-sions, and because the institution of itself is con-demned by the enlightened and liberal spirit of the tion of the various modes by which captives for th slave market were obtained in Africa; the disma age. These are to me the essential conditions of peace. If it is practicable to attain this result, it features of the middle passage, with its horrors and frightful mortality : the distribution, throughout America, of the cargoes of unhappy victims so obtained into consideration the material strength which the South has been permitted to acquire by the conduct of the war—to make concessions upon some points of secondary importance, such as that of paying an indemnity for their slaves to those who have remained in a sort of neutral condition during the unhappy war which has convolsed the country. To terminate this we are now expending life and monand transported, and the circumstances connected with their slavery in the various transatlantic countries over which they were scattered. ommend this portion of the book to the thoughtful perusal of every student of the subject of negro sla very. He who will read, and ponder while he reads, terminate this we are now expending life and mon-ey; it would certainly be a gain to reduce it simply the first hundred pages of this condensed and authen tic record of crime and guilt-stretching through the a question of money.

If in spite of all these efforts to spare the South last three centuries of the Christian era-will rise on or losses of capital likely to be too sefrom the task a wiser and a sadder man. He will verely felt, the political chiefs who direct the South learn that, though during those centuries fifteen milpersist in war, then the policy of the Convention should be to pronounce in that case for war with all lions and a half of the unoffending and helpless children of Africa were landed in this hemisphere, and the force and energy of the nation. For peace, upon any terms, and merely because it is peace—a peace recognizing a North and a South—would not bring and their descendants in the Western World was only claves millions and a half a retrogression of any eleven millions and a half-a retrogress the way for new struggles, and for a condition of ble earth, would have extinguished in a few centuries The paramount question is the Union. By peace, if it can be had on honorable and right terms—by Owen's work is devoted to the subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of "Emuncial Company" of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of the Subject of "Emuncial Company of the Subject of Owen's work is devoted to the subject of "Emanciwar, if the political leaders who are directing the pation," with exclusive reference to the present cir cumstances of this country. It treats the question as critical. It demands the devotion and patriotism of all men who really love their country, and it is one of those moments when all personal aspirations should vanish in the face of the great questions of principle and national existence which are at stake.

Thanking you, gentlemen, for the evidence which vanishing you, gentlemen, for the evidence which was letter gives me of your confidence in my disconone of international law; in its relation to the Constitution of the United States; in connection with the political status of the insurrectionary States, and in its bearing on the position and claims of the loyal States; arriving at the conclusion that, as to the claims to ser vice or labor by persons of African descent held by your letter gives me of your confidence in my dispo-sition to do everything in my power for the interinhabitants of insurrectionary States, or by disloyal inhabitants of other States, it is lawful to confiscate and cancel them without compensation; while as to such claims held by loyal men in non-insurrectionary States, it is legal to take them, making just compen-FOREIGN EFFECT OF OUR EMANCIPATION sation. In the Third Part, the author confines him

The Post endeavors to show—or rather affirms without any showing—that the adoption of the emancipation policy on the part of our Government has lost it strength among the people of Europe. this continent, as well as the most convincing evidence "When they see us losing sight of the objects for which alone the war is justifiable, and making it a pre-text to destroy slavery—when they see the Adminis-tration willing to sacrifice blood and treasured in frightof the capacity and fitness of the negro for freedom and for the exercise of the rights of citizenship. This summary of the contents of the volume before us will suffice to show its comprehensiveness, its completeness, and its adaptation to the wants of the pres ent hour. Besides a touching history of the wrongs perpetrated upon a defenceless portion of the human family, through ten generations, by professedly Chris tian nations, it contains a clear exposition of the legal within the limits of this country. It shows the connit itself to nection of slavery with the Constitution; how far that the cause of emancipation. Mr. Beecher endeav-ored to combat this idea in all his speeches in Eng-land, to do away with the prejudice arising from instrument admits, and how far it abstains from ad mitting, the existence of such a system; further, the character of what is termed slave-property; the right of emancipation in the revolted States; the right of emancipation in the leval States; the jurisdiction of on this subject. The proofs that our enemies abroad took precisely the opposite ground alleged by the Post, and blamed our government because it did the Supreme Court in the premises; the effect of the it did President's Proclamation, as well upon the slave States of make war on slavery, are innumerable, but we within the Union military lines, as upon slaves still in the enemy's hands; and the force of that Procla-We call Mr. Gladstone, in the most hostile speech mation both during the war and when the war shall

self to a consideration of "The Future of the Afri-

can Race in the United States." This we regard as

the most valuable section of the book; containing, as

have terminated. "No doubt, if we could say that this was a contest In addition, the author, having traced the connecof slavery and freedom, there is not a man within the length and breadth of this room—there is, perhaps, hardly a man in all England—who would for a moment hesitate on the side he should take. (Hear, stronger towards the weaker race in the present, has looked forward and inquired, how far these races He then made the following striking remark, are likely, when both shall be free, to live together i He then made the following striking remark, which bears precisely upon the point:

"Indeed, there are those among us who think—and I confess for one I have shared the apprehension—that if in the course of the vicissitudes of the war, the Southern States of America should send an embassy to Washington, and should say: 'Very well, we are ready to renew the compact; we are ready to renew the compact; we are ready to make it perpetual, and attach to it every security and guaranty you can imagine for holding us tast; but upon one condition—that you shall assure us there shall be no interference with our domestic institution.'—Ah! gentlemen, we have had a fear that that application, if it were made, would receive a very fuvorable reply. (Cheers)."

are likely, when both shall be free, to live together in the future. Whether the emancipated race will be unwilling or unable to support itself. Whether the admixture of the races, when both shall be free, is probable or desirable. Whether, without admixture, the reciprocal social influence of the races on each other promises good or evil. What are the chances that the existing prejudice of race will diminish, and ultimately disappear. Whether, finally, in the event of the colored race outliving the prejudice which has hitherto depressed it, and becoming in all respects, touching the law, equal with the white race, there is any thing in the prospect to excite regret or inspire apprehension. On these interesting and iminspire apprehension. On these interesting and im-Mr. Gladstone fears that our Government might portant points, Mr. Owen has brought to Mr. Gladstone fears that our Government might be tempted to let slavery live. But we call Mr. Dovernment points, Mr. Owen has brought to bear the bettempted to let slavery live. But we call Mr. Dovers of a calm and philosophic mind, sided by a powers of a calm and philosophic mind, sided by a commended by the London Times and other friends of the rebels as an accurate expression of English feeling. In his speech to his constituents, before ed. We shall, hereafter, take occasion to refer both

LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, 29 8th mo., 1864.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I see so much in the Liberator to approve of, that it really gives me pain to meet with anything which and to strengthen our country's cause"; and we will seems of a contrary character. And I am sure thee will pardon the frankness of an old friend if I mention that I have read with regret, in the selected matter of the paper, extracts from partisan journals severely denunciatory of Gen. Fremont, impeaching his character and motives. As a mere policy, such denunciations are not needed in support of the Baltimore nomination. If Lincoln cannot be voted for without disparaging and sacrificing Fre mont, his election is entirely hopeless. Gen. Fre mont has enjoyed a wide popularity as the chosen leader of the well-nigh successful effort in 1856 to place the Government on the side of freedom. His name and reputation are dear to thousands. They may regard as an error of judgment his position as a candidate, and at the same time do jus offer his life and services in the present great struggle for Union and Liberty; and I know that tho movements unfavorable to itself; and the people read- wilt agree with me, that the course of the Administration in regard to him constitutes one of those pas sages which the best friends of the President find most difficult to explain or justify; and although at a time like this, when event crowds upon event, and hopes, fears and disappointments pass over us like The party in Massachusetts which opposed the revolution of 1776 were truly loyalists, adhering to the past errors, or to cherish resentments and prejudices, nothing is more certain than that the loyal heart of Why do we apply to them, instead of this respectable name, an opprobrious one? It is, is it not, because Freedom Proclamation in Missouri, and the pain and name, an opprobrious one? It is, is it not, because Freedom Proclamation in Missouri, and the pain and they vindicated and upheld their government in its doubt and misgiving which followed its revocation unjust as well as in its just proceedings. They sup and the recal of its author.

ported power at the expense of right. Their main-tenance of the government was a sacrifice of the wel-tenance of the government was a sacrifice of the wel-Lincoln this Fall. But they still cherish kindly feel Does any such consideration interfere with our loyalty? Does not our Administration legitimately and in his integrity; they are proud of his genius and his justly claim the right of governing? Is not the re- history. And for myself, looking over the country pellion utterly groundless, unjustifiable and wicked ? in this hour of her extremest need, it does not an And are we not authorized by right, and bound in du- pear to me that we are so rich in examples of emty, to support the government in opposing the rebel-lion?—to be on the side of the government, and to cast off such a man as John C. Fremont.

Believe me, very truly, thy friend,

Half a dozen of the Administrations preceding that of Abraham Lincoln, though chosen as legitimately assured that it is far from our intention or wish to d as his, though constituting, as thoroughly as his, the any injustice to Gen. Fremont in our columns, or to rightful government of the nation, have been steadily. forget the noble service he tried to render the cause actively and rightfully opposed by the Abolitionists. of emancipation in Missouri. But no man ever lost Why were they opposed? Because, although they admiring and enthusiastic friends more rapidly than were the persons rightfully and legitimately appointed he has done within the last six months. We have to govern, they chose to govern in an unjust manner. done no more than to show, by the extracts we have They willingly turned their power against the rights made from journals till somewhat recently disposed and welfare of the slave. It seemed to us that justice warmly to applaud his course, how great is the change thus wrought in popular feeling in regard to him; tyranny, and we made it, disregarding the opprobri- and if some of the criticisms are sharp and caustic, ous names that have been freely showered upon us by even to severe denunciation and rebuke, we think the partisans of those authorities. Has the present Ad- temper and tone of his letter accepting his preposteministration ceased to be implicated in guilt of this rous nomination at Cleveland, and the marked encoursort? Right (undoubtedly) in its opposition to the agement given to the Fremont movement, as such, b rebels, is it also right in its attitude toward our clients, agement given to the Fremont movement, as such, by the slaves, the freedmen, the colored people of the tify their utterance in a solemn crisis like this. Fremont has cast himself off by his distracting course.

## STILL MORE ENCOURAGING WORDS.

SOUTHBORO', August 26, 1864. DEAR Mr. GARRISON,-I wish in one word to express my sorrow at the intimation, in a recent Liberator, of its possible discontinuance. For one, I should submit cheerfully to have it reduced to half its present size, or even smaller still if necessary, rather than have it ston. Indeed. I think it would improve even the Liberator to have it reduced to the extent of the suppaid; and equally, in justice, whether that delinquent pression of the ill-natured and ill-mannered letters of subscribers who feel called upon to stop their paper or account of the course which its Editor feels in duty bound to pursue.

Every man, it is true, has a right to stop his pape with or without reason. This is one thing. Assailrefuse to let the unpaid laborer go to find remunera- ing and abusing its Editor is quite another. I think tive employment elsewhere. Even this is not the well of the "Refuge of Oppression" as a depart-They sometimes kill the laborer for the bare ment; but this abuse outside of the Refuge is disgustact of standing on his rights, and holding himself free ling in the extreme. It ought to cease.

from a contract thus systematically violated by the As to these new pledged admirers of Mr. Fremont, I, too, have invested somewhat in him. I once voted But this would be robbery and murder, would it for him as President of the Unired States; and, until not? No doubt. But men in power have a different the publication of that letter of acceptance, held him Mr. Gilmore and his companion discovered, what ferent phraseology to suit such cases. And, unfortu- against any time of need. But that letter, and the nately, their phraseology so generally passes unques- gathering sympathies of everything traitorous north tioned in the community, that the vicious character of the bloody line, are unmistakable.

When I listened to severe rebukes from the Anti-When the contracting parties are, on the one hand Slavery platform for voting for Fremont in '56, I kept a Government, pledging itself to pay thirteen dollars silent. It was not done without some distrust, and I a month, and on the other, a soldier, agreeing in con- said-" Let the righteous smite me; it shall be an exsideration of such payment to do military service, the cellent oil." Then Fremont stood for everything free, case comes under the new phraseology just hinted at. and onward, and noble in politics. Everything pro-For, on the side of the oppressors there is power. In slavery, slave-hunting, mobocratic, was arrayed against this case, the man who, after enduring month after him. How is it now? Surely, the old saying that month the refusal of his employer to pay him the stip- "poverty and politics bring one to strange bed-felulated wages, proclaims that the contract is annulled, lows," never before had so pungent an application as and that he will serve no longer under such conditions, now. The contrast rises to the ludicrous. Indeed, I is called "a mutineer," and reported as such by the cannot believe that any of our old friends can stay in people and the newspapers who mention him. And such company. Faulty as Mr. Lincoln may have been, the act of killing him for standing thus upon his rights, the flowering out of events, circumstances, or angels, and doing his part towards the claim of equitable or some other heavenly messengers, must carry everytreatment for his people, is called "the punishment of thing loyal on the day of election to Abraham's

mutiny," and is reported as such by the men and the bosom. It matters not who is brought forward at Chicago. But ought men who value justice to accept and to What man, possessed of a spark of loyalty, can trust echo such a phraseology as this? Above all, ought the men put forth at that Convention? The men hold-Abolitionists, who have so long demanded justice for ing it are hardly a single step removed from treason. the colored man even when that claim brought them Indeed, it is probable that one of the delegates will in conflict with the Government, to let these pitiful of- attend the Convention with the rope fairly about his ficial technicalities hoodwink them or over-awe them? neck. What if such a gathering should put forward When the black man is right and the Government is my old Chief, and what if he should accept the nomiwrong, are we to refrain from saying so because red nation? Are any of the men who rebuked me from tape labels the right "Mutiny," and perpetrates the the Anti-Slavery platform for voting for Fremont in wrong through some regular official machinery ? Nay, '56, going to vote for him in company with Vallandig-Are we, in consideration of these circumstan- ham and Seymour, and Wood and Rynders, &c., &c., ces, to change our accustomed allegiance to justice, in opposition to Abraham Lincoln? I do not believe and pass from championship of the oppressed to apol- it. Yours for the land we love.

ing the cold-blooded killing of William Walker by the DEAR GARRISON-I am surprised that any old or-United States Government mentioned, by the pen of an ganized Abolitionist should exhibit such a spirit of in-Abolitionist, as "the case of the mutinous black ser- tolerance and darkness of vision as are manifested Are we to cease looking at that case on its merits, or monds, of Roxbury, and Benjamin Emerson of Hato refrain from speaking of it according to its merits, verhill, in stopping their subscriptions to the Liberator. ecause this same Government of the United States | And for what? Is it because the Liberator has abanchooses to stamp just and manly conduct as " mutiny," doned the claims of a million of slaves not yet made or because it happens to be right in its relation to another free by the President's Proclamation? No. Is it be transaction, the rebellion, and to another party, the cause the Liberator is not, as it ever has been, open in schols? Does our relation as citizens to the Govern- its columns to the honest, earnest, and candid critiment require us, does our duty as friends to the blacks cisms of any true friend of immediate emancipation permit us, to vindicate such an act as the killing of Wil- touching the coming great Presidential contest, or am Walker, or even to pass it by with the amount of any other question relating to the salvation and elevation of the celored race? I presume not. No com-To me it seems that our duty to the people of plaints of that sort are made. But it is because you color, and to the Government, requires, in this case, prefer, under all the critical exigencies of the counthe very same action, namely; strong, united, persist- try at present, the re-election of President Lincoln to ent protest, by all who love justice and hate tyranny, that of any other man whom the friends of the Union, against the enormous wickedness committed by Pres- and of the total annihilation of the cause of all our ident Lincoln in giving his official sanction to the woes, could with any reason hope to elect. Now I shooting of William Walker. How else is an Executive to be taught, who declares that his official action or stop any paper; but for any one to stop the Liberahas been, is, and is to be entirely independent of con- for because its editor cannot see the comparative siderations of justice and humanity? He pays, still, claims of different candidates for the Preside some respect to the expressed will of the people. Let, he sees them, evinces a spirit of intolerance that then, so many of the people as agree in reprobating would, if it had the power, utterly demolish the glorisuch a narrow, bigoted, persecuting spirit as this toward each other. when we have a such a such a such a such as the babbling and the clamor for peace which open and gross injustice speak their minds upon ous old pioneer press. Shall Abolitionists cherish The Editor of the Liberatur will be absent from its post for the next two or three weeks, on a visit to dulge in hypercritical

overthrow and total annihilation of alavore

SEPTEMBER 2

My deliberate judgment has been, from the encement of the discussion, that, in the sain, a mencement of the discussion, that, in the wain, between yourself and those differing with you, calm, impartial, unimpassioned record of the h an will say you were right. I thought much of mont till since the Cleveland Convention and h letter, accepting the nomination. In either, I be letter, accepting the nomination. In either, I has no confidence now. I think Fremont has rereal no connuence now.

himself too ambitious to be trusted. I fear he ir: was hoping to go to the White House round the the Copperhead Convention at Chicago. But these Presidential questions as they may, our en friends ought each to come back again with a deci ubscription to the Liberator. When it ceases to vocate immediate emancipation, as the imperi ty of every God-defying slaveholder in the con and world, and the right of the humblest and real est slave, then, and not till then, will I say, "& my paper." When the Liberator hee partisan paper in the interest of any man or men, to the neglect of urging the deliveran lost slave, and the right of that slave to become ident of the country that has hitherto enslared then I will say, "Stop my paper"-not till the I said, Emerson & Co. ought to double subscription. But I fear they will not. He hard it is for a man to say to his opponent, "You wre right, and I was wrong!" It requires rare manhool I herewith inclose \$3. Please send the Liberator to

Amos Miller of Westminster, Mass, one year. Keep spreading the light, "for all that, and for all Yours, till the last shackle drops from the last slave,

whether longer or shorter,

J. T. EVERETT.

PRINCETON, Aug. 30, 1864 MR. GARRISON-However Abolitionists may dif. r as to political policies inside the war, or the m rality and expediency of the war itself, the wish must be unanimous that the Liberator be strength preach the old gospel until every slave is free. I is close five dollars, only regretting my imbility just now to make it more-not on my subscrption, but to help alleviate the pecuniary burdens incident to the E. H. HEYWOOD

WAYLAND, Aug. 26th, 1864 FRIEND GARRISON, -Mr. Child and I send you \$20 ward the support of the Liberator. I have never known the time when the clear, unwavering time of your trumpet could be spared from the moral combat and, certainly, at this time it is peculiarly needed.

Few things have surprised and offended me men than the remarks concerning the Liberator in the Con nonwealth. Common courtesy required that one, who is himself a " neophyte," should have spoken in a time more respectful toward an old pioneer of the cause like yourself; a pioneer true and faithful at all times, and as steadfast to the cause of Freedom now, as in the brave skirmishing of former years. How any candid person can look upon the Liberator

as a "Campaign Sheet" is more than I can unier stand. Men and measures connected with the great question of Emancipation must unavoidably be discussed by Abolitionists; and if some attack Lincoln immeasurably, and give their reasons therefor, shall not others be at liberty to defend him measurably, giring their reasons therefor? You have stated your res sons with moderation and candor, and if any doubt your being actuated solely by a pure regard for the interests of Freedom, we certainly are not among the

Yours, with true respect and affection, L. MARIA CHILD.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XV. NEW YORK, Aug. 25, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator : The burden of the hour is "peace." As you may hear, of a still night, a premonitory hum of town clocks ere Trinity or the City Hall strikes the true time, so the air palpitates with anticinations of the stroke at Chicago on Monday next. "Edmund Kirke's" account of his visit to the heart of rebeldom has gone everywhere since its appearance in The At entic. It does not appear that the self-constitutes ambassadors of the Northern people were equal to a debate with the leaders of the rebellion, and except for a few entertaining details of personages and places, the narrative would be of little interest and less value. terms of Jefferson Davis are victory or death. The unauthorized suggestion of an arrangement on this basis: " Peace, with Union, Emancipation, no Confiscation, and Universal Amnesty," r sion upon the President-desperado of the Confederacy, nor altered his determination, already expressed, to have independence or extermination. In his individual case, at least, the nation will not linger in awarding the latter alternative; and if his deluded followers link their destiny with his, they will not assuredly obtain what it was the prime and sole object of the war to achieve.

The palaver of the commissioners in their intercourse with the arch-traitor is fairly sickening, and smacks too much of the old time flunkeyism. are both Christian men, Mr. Davis," says the Chaplain in one instance; and the appeal to a common service of the Savior is frequent throughout the converation. The implication that one who is foal with the slaughter of myriads would be acknowledged by the Master himself as his servant, is bald biasphemy. and one pictures Mephistophiles, as in the prologue to Faust, exclaiming :

"Furwahr ! er dient euch auf besondre Weise."

"Indeed! he serves you in a curious fashiot Scarcely is Mr. Davis declared a follower of the Lamb- a title which he meekly accepts-than he alleges: "I desire peace as much as you do. I deplete bloodshed as much as you do. I feel that not one drop of the blood shed in this war is on my can look up to my God and say this. I tried all it my power to avert this war. I saw it coming, for twelve years I worked night and day to prevent it, but I could not . . We are not fighting for slave ry." And to each and all of these allegations, Justice, like Mademoiselle in Bleak House, answers care ly: "Lie!" Mr. Gilmore had already informed the public, that, with all his faults, he believed Jeff. Devis a man of truth; yet this statement was bazanked after an interview characterised by such month

mendacity, and on the eve of its reproduction in print As if any additional evidence were needed to prove the man the most unscrupulous liar in history, the inception of the rebellion to the present me For one admission, however, let us thank him, ven cious as well as candid. Read and ponder it, all who mean that the Republic shall live; all who have thought the war on our part a violation of the prince ple of self-government; all who remember the Contitutional provision for determining the will of the prople. Here it is :

"We seceded to rid ourselves of the RULE OF THE MAJORITY.

The mass meeting at Syracuse, with an ere to peace" and the Chicago platform, was distinguisuch twin cherries on one stalk as Vallandighan and Fernando Wood, and the former announ "there is now but one question before the county war or peace." One of the resolutions echo words: "The fundamental question of the day is Shall it be peace, or shall it be war!" Yes, that is the veritable issue; but the peace which is there meant is relentless war, and that which is there styled war is the only possible peace. There is renow abound. Four years of warfare have shown his post for the next two or three weeks, on a visit to dulge in hypercritical comments upon each other.

Only that we all mean well in every effort for the our indications have inspired a popular belief in the success if the coln may be a green wood, And if he eve This is the re Southern cons lies to attemp Mark the expe [Chicago] car sion of hostili in other word: perishing caus istration becau

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practical term ent year. A lion within the

all constitutio all allegiance." risy of the su "free canvass such as were "must be preintonation of these: "We its encroachmicitizens of our rate the rule o with elections, citizens, to the lines, our fortu Chicago wi ing is in type ilish intrigue, point next we hudder, it ma rust in the ap mercial me

itself the hope on the Chicago laid but not a Here are the h will be witness A SCRAP ( FRIEND GARR

I left Grand

fter fifty-two

visiting a few

readily gave m dation to Gen. main object in of the country When I rea Butler had alre pedition up the hat no civilian lines of his cou the order migh omewhat rest and started on, from the Amer imore, I succ force of my let a getting tran presented m harge of the f his Secretary roduced to a s me a letter to to furnish me n that district with a military

letailed soldier fore, to a numb ing a suitable e he roof of ex-C was then occu there three yes been anxious to John Brown a not there, and shouted out bet daily. After w at expense, for er to go dire overseer on the overseer putting and was told t ie would like t some trouble or was sent there of the copperhe there to govern self, much less

to the disturbed

tled down rathe

people expresse

three government of Norfolk

penly and exul hose they have not the best gus whom grinding neath its iron h trict have on the are much bette would be now n whizzing ballet ming experi d-d niggers,' re those among mendably. Northern over he underling is eers are often Notwithstanding yet there are va

rture at hand. are, to a great e any of them pay robably half pr hese homeless than left in idle! deir support; f em cannot sur of high prices, Most of the a en are employ some other c orers other tha

encumbered with The whole no farm was 187, under fourteen : of this number sixths of whom per contact er centage und Hoea, weighing each, with a two half foot handle No wonder the season, nor coul of the owner.

erishing cause. Mark the re-affirmation of the right

mition because "it has denied to sovereign States all constitutional rights, and thereby absolved them from mance." Mark, finally, the transparent hypocrsy of the supporters of despotism who claim that a

free canvass and a free and unrestricted election,"

as were never known under the rule of slavery,

mation of the concluding phrase is matched by

ness: a encroachments upon the rights and liberties of the

uns of our State, and resolve that we will not tole-

te the rule of martial law, of military interference

the electrons, to the maintenance of which we pledge our

Chicago will have shaped the future ere this writ-

Chicago was nave singlet the future ere this writ-ing is in type. Looking over the whole field of dev-

nish introduce, one is forced to believe, - with a

adder, it may be, and with sudden or confirmed dis-

rust in the applicability of the republican theory to a

of the bepes of the rebellion, and that the shadow

the Chicago dial will be cast by that red demon,

fames amid these streets a year ago last month.

Here are the headquarters of the rebellion, and here

A SCRAP OF EXPERIENCE IN EASTERN

Hett Grand Haven, Michigan, April 26, 1864, and

ting a few friends, I called on Gov. Andrew, who

dily gave me a letter of introduction and commen-

e sid of the newly-emancipated slaves in that part

When I reached New York, I learned that Gen.

pler had already left Fortress Monroe with an ex-

lition up the James river, and had issued an order

1 no civilians should be allowed transit within the

nes of his command. I waited some time, thinking

order might be withdrawn or modified; but got

omewhat restless after waiting nearly three weeks,

d started on, accompanied by two female teachers

on the American Missionary Commission. At Bal-

more, I succeeded, by dint of exertions and the

getting transportation to Fortress Monroe, where

e of my letter from Gov. Andrew to Gen. Butler,

esented my letters to Col. J. B. Kinsman, in

rier of the day-because the man who had been put

here to govern the place was not able to govern himelf, much less others. After giving close attention the disturbed elements for a few days, matters set-

led down rather quietly, and when I left, the colored

my and exultingly boast of their brutality towards me they have in charge, females not excepted, are

of the best guardians for the simple and defenceless, grinding oppression has had for long years be-

bath its iron heel. Nearly all the farms in that dis-

have on them detailed soldiers for overseers, who

in much better suited with that position than they reid be now near the Confederate capital, among the

bullets and bursting shells. Many of these

een are young men, never having had much thing experience, and as little sympathy for the

daiggers," by their own admission. Yet there

ose among them who treat those under them

there overseer is no proof that the condition of

inderling is better. Northern masters and over-

we often the most exacting and avaricious.

thstanding the free use of the lash is not allowed,

there are various other modes of punishment and

is, to a great extent, pauper farms. It is doubtful if

then pay very near the cost of carrying them

The one at which I stayed for a time would not

ably half pay the expenses. Yet it is better that ioneless people be spread out over the farms

in idleness, without doing anything towards

support; for but few of the resident, oath-bound have the means and disposition to furnish

vith renunerative employment, and many of

tunnot sustain themselves at the present time

dent of the able-bodied men and many of the wo-

employed by the government as soldiers or other capacity, leaving but few for farm la-

other than the aged, the children, and women

bered with the infirm and small children, many

NUMBER AND RATIONS.

PROFIT AND LOSS. Permarily, the government farms in that section

tendably. A simple change from a Southern to

OVERSEERSHIP. Mea wearing the United States uniform, who can

people expressed many regrets.

fure at hand.

alon are orphans.

us experience in that work.

will be witnessed its triumph or its overthrow.

VIRGINIA.

but not annihilated, who stalked in blood and

M. DU PAYS.

reial metropolis,-that New York contains in

with elections, or any more arbitrary arrests of our

nes, our fortunes, and — our sacred honor "!

"We warn this Administration to desist from

But be preserved at all hazards." The "peaceful

accession in the resolution denouncing the Admin-

R 2.

nists may dif-

rar, or the mo-

the wish must trengthened to

ntor in the Com-

d that one, who

BEALTH.

Many of those on the place had been down with the small-pox, fifteen had died, and quite a number of chergo candidate will be committed to a suspension of hestilities and a Convention of the States,"—
and of hestilities and a Convention of the States,"—
and of hestilities and a Convention of the states, "—
the salt pox, fifteen had died, and quite a number of others were then sick of various diseases. The place was notorious for its sickly location, surrounded as it is by swamps, frog-ponds, and forests. It had often the states of the surrender of the victorious to the salt pox and the surrender of the victorious to the salt pox and forests. It had often the salt pox and the surrender of the victorious of the right was notorious for its sickly location, surrounded as it is by swamps, frog-ponds, and forests. It had often the salt pox and the salt pox and the surrender of the victorious to the salt pox and the salt pox

way, the ague and fever came on, and finding myself rapidly running down, and seeing no sufficient reasons for remaining there longer under existing cir-cumstances, I left, with just strength and life enough to reach New York, which I did July 29, and there found the most kind and hospitable reception at the hands of our old and true friend, Wm. P. Powell, at No. 2 Dover street, who, with his family, had been made to suffer severely by the flendish barbarity of a New York mob, for his identity with the colored

Since my return to New York, I have been stopping with a relative at Astoria, L. I., having been princiing is in type. Looking the that city is to be the central pally confined to the house, and much of the time to the bed; but I am now slowly improving, and am in hopes in a few weeks to be able to go to work again, as that is our main dependence for support. A part of my baggage was stolen on my passage, and when Wilks Testimonial. I got here, the last dollar had vanished.

WAGES. For farm hands, the wages were from five to ten dollars a month, with rations deducted, leaving but a Nomination of McClellan for President. trifle due at pay day, if such a time should come The men had not been paid anything since last March, and the women not for the last year, but all expressed the hope that they would be paid soon. Most of them had been assisted with clothing by Northern benevolence, through the agency of Lucy and Sarah Chase. These names were household words on all the farms around Norfolk. Many a poor desponding heart has been made to rejoice by the garments which they ffty-two hours' ride reached Boston. After

have dispensed among the really needy and destitute The great and immediate want among these people is remunerative employment, good and trusty adviradity gave me a kelor, then at Fortress Monroe. My sers, who will secure their confidence, and protecobject in going there was to devote myself to tion in the exercise of their legitimate rights. They need protection from the avariciousness, usurpations the country in their industrial pursuits, having had and vices of Northern men as well as of Southern men; but give them a fair chance, and, with few exceptions, they will prove themselves self-sustaining. Their little corn and potatoe crops, their gardens, poultry and pigs, and everything they can turn to account, demonstrate that they will take care of themselves as well as any other class with the same con-

> The Freedmen's Aid Associations and some others have done much to aid and encourage them in their agricultural and industrial pursuits. Their gratitude is never withheld where kindness and favors are honestly bestowed.

The children acquire the knowledge of reading,

some police of the specific plane. It is not one Proclamation that lifts the life-long chattel to the angelic plane! There must be growth. Much cultivation has to be done. The blacks of this land are now in a transition state. They are now grasping the red sea, "whose surges are of gore."

The wilderness is some distance on. The Jubilee is not to be gathered up by the wayside, but to be wow. They are now grasping the musket; that indicates something! They will soon clench the sword, and hard for the Vice Presidency, on the second ballot.

They are now grasping the musket; that indicates something! They will soon clench the sword, and hard for the Vice Presidency, on the second ballot. then it will not be long before they will cut and shoot

undertakes to explain the occurrence upon which my allusion to him, in a letter to you, was founded. The occurrence as Mr. Conway reports it is substantially correct as far as it goes, but the vital circumstance upon which my charges of jealousy and misrepresentation were based is not alluded to. No one, I am aure, can see in what occurred at the Islington meeting to which Mr. Conway refers, the slightest proof that I said Mr. Lincoln was a negro-hater; and as Mr. Conway says that this was the first and last time that

that I said Mr. Lincoln was a negro-hater; and as Mr. Conway says that this was the first and last time that anything passed between him and myself, the inference is that if I did not say, at that meeting, that Mr. Lincoln was a negro-hater, I did not, in Mr. Conway's presence, say it at all.

And yet Mr. Conway, in about the fourth or fifth letter which he wrote to the Commonwealth from London, makes this report:—"Mr. Lincoln is the most popular man in England. The other night, Sella Martin called him a negro-hater, and the audience received it with disapprobation." Of course, if I thought and said this, I would not defend Mr. Lincoln or his administration; and if the report that I said it were true, the conclusion in the mind of the American reader must be irresistible, that I was doing the cause of the Union and that of my race harm by my

NUMBER AND RATIONS.

The viole number of names on the books of the cause of the Union and that of my race harm by my public speeches.

In this last note from Mr. Conway, I am not accused of saying, at that meeting—the only place where anything passed between and children, and a large last to work, tools badly worn and awkward, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large, with a two inch hole for the eye, and five and a large of the Union and that of my race harm by my public speeches.

In this last note from Mr. Conway, I am not accused of saying, at that meeting—the only place where anything passed between as—that Mr. Lincoln and that of my race harm by my public speeches.

In this last note from Mr. Conway, I am not accused of saying, at that meeting—the only place where anything passed between anything passed between the conway. The tincoln meeting—the only place where anything passed between the inch manifest, and thereby jeopardizion in his preflection to the office for which he has been nominated; therefore be it Resolved, by this Union Central Committee of the City and County of New York, That we carnestly deprecate the publication of said manifesto, and condemn the spirit which seems to have prompted its prominated and party position to bring into disrepute the regularly-nominated candidates of the party.

Resolved, That our faith in the judgment and particularly position to bring into dis

great deal of depravity in another, before he comes to the conclusion that that other, in misrepresenting him,

whites (fourteen) who had been stationed on the place since its confiscation, were obliged to leave on account of sickness.

With such associations and surroundings, and with poor provisions, badly prepared, &c., my health gave way, the same and fever came on, and finding morely.

This is partly wrong. Mr. Conway was answered the question which he reports himself as having asked in these words:—"This is not the place for personalities." Nothing was said by me about inculpating or exculpating-the words were not used; and the reason why I said that was not the place for personalities was, that I not only thought it rude for a gentleman thus to interrupt me while I was speaking, especially when the interrupter was to follow me with a speech, but I desired to end a colloquy which exhibited this rudeness to enemies, to the lamage of the cause which I was trying to defend. Yours, truly, SELLA MARTIN.

We acknowledge, with great pleasure, the receipt of thirty dollars from Gerrit Smith, of Peterbo-ro', N. Y., as a donation to the proposed Washington

NATIONAL COPPERHEAD CONVENTION.

The mis called "Democracy" opened their National Convention at Chicago on Monday last, and it is still in session as we go to press. Of course, the traitors and cowards, from all sections, flocked thither as to a carnival. On Tuesday, the platform was laid down, as follows:—

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unwavering fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the prosperity of all the States, both Northern and South-

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under pretence of military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private rights alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired. Justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elec-Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly de-

Resolved, I hat the direct interference of the min-tary authority of the United States in the recent elec-tions held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Dela-ware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and the repetition of such acts will be held as revolution-ary, and resisted with all the means and power under

our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Demoschools.

The children acquire the knowledge of reading, dec., as readily as any other class would under the same circumstances. I visited a number of the schools, both in and out of the city, and was informed by the teachers generally that their pupils were more orderly and attentive to their lessons than white children were of the same age whom they have opportunity, either in the daytime or evenings; and it was pleasant to see those dailed soldiers on the premises. I passed on, therefore, to a number of the government farms both east and south of Norfolk for some distance, without finding a suitable opening. I slept several nights under the restoration of the same occupied by three schools. Had I been dire there years sooner, he would doubtless have there years sooner, he would doubtless have there years sooner, he would doubtless have the same age who make a profession of religion are attached to the Baptist or Methodist denomination, and are at special times very emotional, and shown at Harper's Ferry. But then he was selected to the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the aboversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the aboversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the aboversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by

denomination, and are at special times very emotional, and succeptible of physiological and magnetic influences. How much the teachings of the Westminster of there, and instead, the songs of freedom were similar Catechisms are doing to really entirely the place. On arriving there I saw the lighten or liberalize their minds is a point, perhaps, not easy to decide.

We should not expect too much from the present generation. It is not one Proclamation that lifts the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, regard and kindness that the brave soldiers of our arriving there. I saw the lifts long abstract to the angulic place. There must be

then it will not be long before they will cut and shoot their way up to the side of Southern chivalry. And then there will be many rounds in the ladder before reaching the top. The highest human elevation is not gained by the use of murderous instruments.

Had I now the constitution and the years that have passed and left me a wreck, I would be glad to dwell among them and cheer them on to manhood, if nothing more. But, anyhow, I have lived long enough to see the old venerated institution crumbling. Its adhesiveness is passing off. The acid is in motion throughout the whole fabric. Its rumblings may sound horribly to the modern conservative, but in due time it will be a mass of rubbish. Meantime, the Temple of Freedom will go up; and if it shall become visible to the inhabitants of this country, and inquired after in the "old," it will be enough for this century.

REPLY TO M. D. CONWAY.

34 LISPENARD STREET, NEW YORK, Aug. 26.

DEAR MR. GARRISON—I find in the Liberator of this date, a note from Mr. M. D. Conway, in which he undertakes to explain the occurrence upon which my WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Not a few of our

UNION CENTRAL COMMITTEE. The regular meeting of this body was held at their headquarters, corner Broadway and Twenty-third street, New York, last week, a large delegation being present. In the absence of Mr. Darling, President of the Committee, Mr. Hugh Gardner, Vice-President, occupied the chair. The following preamble and resolutions in regard to Messrs. Davis and Wade were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, we are on the eve of a most important

COPPERHEAD CONSPIRACIES. An Indianapolis letter in the Cincinnati Gazette

THE LIBERATOR.

"Some time since, copies of the ritual of the O. A. K. were found in the office of D. W. Voorhees, of Terre Haute, which naturally led to the inference that they were the property of D. Voorhees. He has made a denial to Col. R. W. Thompson and to Gen. Carrington, which occasioned the following reply:— Hon. D. W. Voorhees, Member U. S. Congress, Terr

Hon. D. W. Voorhees, Member U. S. Congress, Terre Haute, Ind.:

I have received from you a copy of your letter to Col. R. W. Thompson, Provost Marshal, and his reply. The following laconic note accompanies them:

'General Carrington—As you published this falsehood in the newspapers, I shall expect you to correct it, as Colonel Thompson has done.

D. W. VOORHEES.'

onel Thompson has done.

D. W. Voorbers.'

The assumption in the above is groundless. Your name is not mentioned by me in my reports, neither have I published anything about you whatever.
You insist upon my answering your note to Colonel Thompson. The points you make are—
lst. 'That the office in which it is said these papers were found had not been occupied by you or by any one connected with you, or been in any way under your control, since last November.'

2d. You 'desire to ascertain whether the circumstances connected with the discovery of those papers in that office led to the supposition that you placed them there, or was even aware of their existence?'

You desire this, 'that the people may know the them there, or was even aware of their existence?' You desire this, 'that the people may know the truth,' and 'not that you attach any particular importance to the documents.'

The papers referred to are one hundred and twelve copies of the Ritual of the O. A. K., a treasonable order, aiming to overturn the government of the United States, of which you are a member.

The gentlemen who found 'these papers' told me they were found in your office.

The following are 'some of the circumstances' that led me to suppose they were correct in the supposition:

were found.

And so of B. W. Hanna, who wants a good place in the regular army, and so of Hannegan, and so of W. J. Pierce, who 'will show the beasts that Lincoln has turned out to be a monster in 1864; 'and so of Bigger and Devlin and Dodd, &c., whose said correspondence was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

These are some of 'the circumstances' that led me to believe that 'these papers,' the ritual of the O. A. K., were found in your office.

Llooked upon these circumstances as a plain invor

K, were found in your office.

I looked upon these circumstances as a plain juror might be supposed to do, and not as a statesman, and innocently supposed that such papers as these, if spared from the fire, would be in the possession of the owner, and that the office of the owner would be the place where these papers would be found.

And yet, with Colonel Thompson, I cheerfully accept your denial, and so respond as you request, 'that the people may know the truth.'

Your well-wisher,

HENRY B. CARRINGTON."

COPPERHEAD PLOTTING IN INDIANA.

The Indianapolis Journal states that Gov. Morton of Indiana, on Saturday, received a letter from a gentleman in an eastern county, conveying the information that the Copperheads of Indiana had ordered and paid for \$0,000 revolvers, with forty-two boxes fixed ammunition, to be distributed among the antagonists to our government, for the purpose of controlling the Presidential election. Names and places were given, and the Governor at once set the police to work on the matter. The result of their investigation was, that the Provost Marshal of Indianapolis and his assistants made a descent on the printing and book binding establishment of H. H. Dodd & Co., on Saturday night, where they found thirty-two boxes such as were described in the letter. After the boxes were opened, their contents were found to consist of 400 large navy revolvers, and 185,000 rounds of fixed ammunition for the same arm. Among the captures made at the same place were the Great Seal of the Order of the "Sons of Liberty," the official list of the members of the order at this place, and several hundred printed copies of the Ritual; also a large amount of correspondence of an important character, which may be given to the public at the proper time. Some letters were recently found and seized in the office of Danlel W. Voorhees, member of Congress from Indiana, implicating him in a negotiation for the purchase of a large number of rifles. One of them is as follows:

"Long Braxch, Aug. 21, 1863.

My Dear Stre." Lenglose your two letters from a COPPERHEAD PLOTTING IN INDIANA.

ber of rifles. One of them is as follows:

"Long Branch, Aug. 21, 1863.

My Dear Sir: I enclose you two letters from a man by the name of Carr in reference to arms. A letter directed to him simply Philadelphia will reach him. I can youch for the excellent quality and great efficiency of the side. JAMES W. WALL."

[Free.]

JAMES W. WALL, U. S. S.

Hon. Daniel Voorhees, Terre Haute, Indiana. Another letter was from Carr to Wall (who, it will be remembered, is a noted Copperhead of New Jersey,) describing the character of the arms, which are of for-eign manufacture, 20,000 in number, and are offered at \$14 each, in bond.

named in this letter must cost, the question presents itself of the ways and means. The pistols alone would cost close on to one million of dollars at manufacturery prices, and the twenty thousand rifles, without the import duties, would cost \$280,000. Of course no such sums are provided by the members of the order in this State, but there have been some Peace Commissioners prowling along the Canada border for several weeks. John C. Walker, and other peace men of Indiana, have been visiting them.

Some months since, the Confederate Government borrowed fifteen million dollars in Europe, for which they issued cotton bonds, and every blockade-runner carries out cotton to repay the loan. The object of the loan was, primarily, to purchase a navy in European ports, including the celebrated rams. That speculation having failed by the refusal of the governments of England and France to permit the rams to depart, and they having been sold to other persons, the peace commissioners are in funds, and they could not make an investment more to the advantage of their master than to purchase arms and ammunition for northern traitors, and to pay northern demagogues liberally forshricking peace, free speech and liberty."

UNION PRISONERS MURDERED BY THE BARBARIANS.

NEW YORK, Aug. 25. A Memphis dispatch to the Herald states that there were over 8000 troops there when the rebels dashed in last Sunday. They cap-tured portions of Washburne's and Huriburt's staffs.

CAIRO, Aug. 24. The Memphis Bulletin says For-rest's force was nine regiments and four guns, half of which entered the city, the remainder stopping outside to prevent their retreat from being cut off. The rebels captured 259 prisoners, mostly 100 days men, many of whom escaped, and many were murdered. The rebels shot several sick soldiers in the hospital and captured many others. All the prisoners unable to keep up were shot.

A correspondent with the Fifth Army Corps gives the following description of the field of battle on the Weldon railroad on the day after Sunday's struggle:

The following are 'some of the circumstances' that ked me to suppose they were correct in the supposition:

Your law, library, and office furniture were in the office where 'these papers' were found.

You had declined renomination for Congress, and the office was reported as not for rent as late as April. 1864.

The Ritual had been issued in the autumn of 1863. Your Congressional documents were in the office where 'these papers' were found.

Your speeches, up to March, of your entire Congressional career, with the 'John Brown' speech, were in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of Senator Wall, of New Jersey, under his frank, endorsing a proposition to furnish you with twenty thousand stand of Garibaldi rifles, just imported, 'for which he could vouch,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of C. L. Vallandigham, from Windsor, C. W., assuring you 'our people will fight,' and that 'he is ready,' and fixing a point on 'the Lima road' at 'which to meet you,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of Joseph Ristine, Anditor of State, declaring that he 'would like to see all Democrats unite in a bold and open resistance to all attempts to keep ours a united people by force of steel,' and that 'this was a war against the democracy, and our only hope was the successful resistance of the South, was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of E. C. Hibben, who assures you that 'the democracy are fast stiffening up when this war is to be openly declared as being waged for the purpose of freeing the negro,' which will arous another section of the country to arraws,' and declaring 'that Lincoln bayonete are shouldered for cold-blooded murder,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of S. C. Hibben, who assures you that 'the democracy are fast stiffening up when this war is to be openly declared as being waged for the purpose of freeing the negro,' which will arous another se

dead. There are many rebel dead still on the field uburied."
The correspondence of Joseph Ristine, Auditor of State, declaring that he 'would like to see all Demorats unite in a bold and open resistance to all attempts to keep ours a united people by force of steel,' and that 'this was a war against the democracy, and our only hope was the successful resistance of the South, was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of E. C. Hibben, who assures you that 'the democracy are fast stiffening up when this war is to be openly declared as being waged for the purpose of freeing the negro,' which will arouse another section of the country to arms,' and declaring 'that Lincoln bayonets are shouldered for cold-blooded murder,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of J. Hardest, who 'wapts you to have that hundred thousand men ready, as we donot know how soon we may need them,' was in the office where this ritual was found.

The correspondence of J. J. Bingham, who asks you 'if you think the South has resources enough to keep the Union forces at bay,' and says that 'you must have sources of information which he has not,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of J. Davis, informing you that a certain New York journal 'is wonderfully exercised about secret anti-war movements, and tremble in their boots in 'tiew of the terrible reaction which is sure to await them,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of W. S. Walker, who 'keeps out of the way because they are trying to arrest him for officiating in secret societies, inclosing the oath of the K. G. C's prior to that of the O. A. K., was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of Campbell, who says the 'democracy were not afraid to be their purposes out to daylight;' but that 'now it is deemed best to work in secret, and asking your consent,' were fine the democracy were not afraid to be their purposes out to daylight;' b

On the 54th ultimo, latitude 34 deg. 11 min. north, longitude 76 deg. 20 min. west, the United States gunboat Gettysburg, assisted by the gunboats Keystone State and Massachusetts, captured the Anglorebel steamer Lilian, loaded with 650 bales of cotton, from Wilmington bound to Bermuda. She was hove to, after an exciting chase by the three steamers, by a shot from the Gettysburg. which struck and penetrademocracy were not afraid to bet their purposes out to daylight; but that 'now it is deemed best to where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of E. Etheridge, clerk of the House of Representatives, giving official notice that 'your credentials as members of the thirty-eighth Congress have been received and filed in the proper office,' and for you 'to come on,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of George H. Pendleton, which states that Etheridge's plan to organize Congress, viz., 'to elect himself clerk and Cox as speaker,' though he (Pendleton) will not facilitate the renomination of any man as clerk whose programme is for his defeat as speaker 's suggesting to you to have it whispered in the ear of Etheridge to reciprocate favors and opposition,' and do this authoritatively, but not as from him, &c., was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

The correspondence of J. McDonald, who had an interview with Perkins, 'in one of his (Perkins's) lucid intervals,' with regard to 'the discovery of the Northwest passage' by Perkins, for which he claimed the credit, etc., was in the office where 'these papers' were found.

And so of B. W. Hanna, who wants a good place in the regular army, and so of Hannegan, and so of W.

Very few who visit the Southern part of the city but are attracted by the neat and very tasteful appearance exhibited by the camp of the 14th U. S. Colored Infantry. It is a pattern of comfort and tasteful display in all its surroundings. The men comprising this regiment have become thoroughly proficient in all their military evolutions, and in the discipline at tached to military life. In company with a friend, who had served several years in the regular army, we visited the vicinity the other evening as the regiment was on dress parade. Our friend observed that in all his military experience, he had never witnessed such complete precision in drill, or a better appreciation of soldierly duties, than was manifested on this occasion. \* \* A very creditable feature with the greater part of the men is the eager saxiety manifested for elementary educational books, and the desire to nequire knowledge. The Christian Commission, with its characteristic zeal in every good work, furnishes books and all facilities for acquiring knowledge, free of expense.—Chattanooga Gazette.

A correspondent of the New York Independent, writing from Norfolk, Va., says: "Within the last three months, Maj.-Gen. B. F. Butler has decided that colored members of Baptist churches in Eastern Virginia and North Carolina shall be considered members indeed, and, so long as the present military rule exists, they shall be entitled to and protected in the exercise of all church rights and privileges whatever enjoyed by the white members of said churches and if the white members will not submit to this order of things, they may quietly retire, and leave the colored members in the exclusive use and enjoyment of all church property and privileges."

The Washington correspondent of the Daily Advertiser telegraphs a synopsis of the contents of the Richmond Examiner, of Tuesday last, as follows

the Richmond Examiner, of Tuesday last, as follows:

The editor says that at this particular moment, 
"nothing we can think of would produce so fine a 
moral effect in the North as another advance of Early 
into Pennsylvania, and the burning of York, Lancaster 
and Harrisburg. Such a movement would act as a 
sedative to their war spirit, and would make sure the 
adoption of a noble peace platform by the Chicago 
Convention, and the election of a peace President. 
There is no other conceivable course in which we can 
help on the blessed cause of peace."

The paper claims that 4174 prisoners reached Richmond on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. The privates were sent to Belle Isle, and the officers, one 
hundred in number, among whom was Brig. Gen. 
Hayes, of Massachusetts, to the Libby Prison.

The Radical Democracy. The existence of the Radical Democracy, whose candidate for the Presidency is General Fremont, has, it will now be confessed, been entirely overlooked by the constituency of the Chicago Convention. General Fremont, in spite of the frequent appeals of the New Nation, is not even thought of by the enthusiastic admirers of McClellan and Vallandigham; and so fails the badly, considered, movement for uniting the opposition to President Lincoln upon an Abolitionist war candidate. This exposes the real issue before the country, which is not a question between Mr. Lincoln and General Fremont, or General McClellan, but one between Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis.

our Prisoners at the South. A correspondence took place, some weeks ago, between the Federal officers, prisoners of war at Charleston, S. C., and Major-General Sam. Jones, commanding the rebel at these unmitigated scoundrels desire peace. Thirty thousand navy revolvers, with ammunition enough for an army, coupled with the negotiations of Mr. Voorhees for the purchase of twenty thousand Garibaldi rifles, would indicate that there is a good deal of the disposition of the tiger hid under their sheepskin garb of peace. When we look at the large sum of money which the amount of arms and ammunition

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. The seventeenth Annual Term will commence Nov. 2, 1864, and continue seventeen weeks. Tuition fee for the courses of the six Professors and the Demonstrator, \$65 free to students needing aid, wherever residing. For par-ticulars, address the subscriber, at the College, No. 30

3w SAM'L GREGORY, M. D., Secretary.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in West Wrentham lay, Sept. 4th, at half-past 10, A. M., and 1, P. M. Subjects: "Overcome Evil with Good"-"The War rong in Principle and a mistaken Policy."

Portrait of Mr. Garrison.

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sic.

5. No instrument is less liable to get out of order.

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ON SHAKSPEARE.

[The following excellent poem, written by John A. Willis, was read at the celebration of the Shakspeare Tercer tenary in St. Louis. We are not familiar with the nau of the author, but the production shows that he is a poet of no mean abilities. 1

The great die not! They err who call it Death, When lieth low the wise and godlike head The great die not ; they, only, truly live, And we, the living, are the only dead ! Growing too great for burdening bonds of flesh, And too refined for food of mortal breath. The emancipated soul but takes one step Onward tow'rd God—and men do call it Death!

So ! that wise Master of the human heart, Sweet Bard of Avon !- Poet !- Painter !- Sage !-Passed, death-born, into truer life-and we, To-night, by centuries, count his age ! still is he as young as when By centuries-still is he as young ... His lips let fall wise words in honeyed rhyme; And centuries more shall wrinkle not his brow; The immortal mock the palsying touch of Time !

And not alone lives he among us still : Those forms born of his pregnant brain are here ! Who has not laughed with lusty rotund Jack? Who has not wept with poor dethroned Lear? "Macbeth still murders sleeps!" as when before His tranced eyes the airy dagger bled; Richard still " wades through slaughter to a throne," To trip and fall in blood himself had shed ! The youthful Dane, madman most wise indeed,

With well-laid plan still frights the fratricide, Whose trembling limbs and smiting knees reveal That which his tongue had long been taught to hide The pained ghost stalks 'fore our startled gaze, Beckoning with bony hand from ghastly shroud; And good Polonius still, with feeble eye, Doth see whole herds of camels in the cloud !

Othello, crazed with "trifles light as air," Still bends above his sleeping love at night-While his great passion shakes him as a reed-" Puts out the light, and then, puts out the light !" And who is this with scales and whetted steel, Who stalks among us now with clutching hands, And shaggy brows, and cunning gleaming eyes,-The crael Jew, who still his bor

Yes! they all live-and he shall ever live, This greatest limner of the human heart, Those cunning hand did draw men as they are, And of all passions map the lasting chart ! Language may change, and princes, thrones and po But unchanged still shall be the human heart, And the same passions be forever ours !

THE BRIDGE OF CLOUD.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Burn, O evening hearth, and waken Pleasant visions, as of old!

Though the house by winds be shaken, Safe I keep this room of gold !

Ah ! no longer wizard Fancy castles in the air Laring me by necromancy Up the never-ending stair ! But, instead, it builds me bridges

Over many a dark ravine, Where beneath the gusty ridges Cataracts dash and roar un And I cross them, little heeding

Blast of wind or torrent's roar. As I follow the receding Footsteps that have gone before. Nought avails the cry of pain,

Nought avails the imploring gesture, When I touch the flying vesture, Tis the gray robe of the rain. Baffled I return, and, leaning O'er the parapet of cloud,

Watch the mist that intervening

Wraps the valley in its shroud And the sounds of life ascending Faintly, vaguely, meet the ear, Murmur of bells and voices blending

Well I know what there lies hidden. And again the land forbidder

Reassumes its vanished charm. And the nests in hedge and tree ; At what doors are friendly faces,

In what heart a thought of me. Through the mist and darkness sinking, Blown by wind and beaten by shower, Down I fling the thought I'm thinking. Down I toss this Alpine flower.

-Atlantic Monthly for September

I ask not wealth, but power to take And use whate'er I have aright : My life a profit and delight.

I ask not that for me the plan Of good and ill be set aside; But that the common lot of man Be nobly borne and glorified.

I know I may not always keep My steps in places green and sweet, A path of safety for my feet;

Shall fiercely sweep my way about, I make not shipwreck of my faith,

And that, though it he mine to know How hard the stoniest pillow seems, Good angels still may come and go On the bright ladder of my dreams

I do not ask for love below, That friends shall never be estranged But for the power of loving, so My soul may keep its youth unchanged.

And though wide lands or cruel seas Hold me from dearest ones apart, Still may all sweet capacities

Be fountains, open in my heart !

Youth, Joy, Wealth-Fate, I give thee these ; Leave Faith and Hope till life is past; And leave my heart's best impulses Fresh and unfailing to the last.

For these, I think, of all good things, Most precious, out of heaven above : And that the power of loving brings The fullest recompense of love.

No earthly friend can fill a mother's place, When the dear one is with us here no more No smiles so sweet, so loving to the core, As those which beamed upon that faithful face Reflecting every meek, angelic grace; No words so kind, so potent to reste Joy to the soul, where sadness ruled before As hers, who held us in her warm embrace; But when the vesture visible to sight Has worn away, to set the spirit free, Then we behold those looks of love and light In fadeless lines impressed on memory, And feel that but one mother e'er is given To guard us here below, or guide the way to Hear

> Leave no unguarded place, No weakness of the soul; Take every virtue, every grace, And consecrate the whole.

## The Diberator.

THE PEACE PARTY-ITS RELATIONS TO SLAVERY AND THE REBELLION. LOCKPORT, Ill., Aug. 20, 1864.

MY FRIEND,-I have lectured twice in this vicini-Party and its relations to slavery and the civil war. "Compromise!" "Don't resist!" "Give women. to the kidnappers, the women-whippers and baby-pedlers all they ask!" "Be still!" "Keep Quiet!" Put up your swords!" "Let the man-stealers have the whole North, and enslave the entire laboring milplundered Mexico of thirty thousand square miles of be quietly kept his place, saying—"It's only some of pundered Mexico of thirty thousand square miles of those d—d privates."

The point which I wish to have noticed in this lit those d—d privates." sustain and perpetuate slavery. This same Peace citizens of Kansas to make that a Slave State of the Union, formed the slave-traders' Confederacy, war in the North to aid the rebellion? The Peace minished. Democracy. To whom do the slave-trading traitors If President Lincoln should habitually treat soldier The Peace Democracy. Who are encouraging and policy, a set of people who need be noticed by assisting and fitting out pirates to prey upon the Administration in no other way than by comman opposed the repeal of the fugitive slave laws, and the nothing of other ill conditions, mental and moral life and limb to save the Republic! The Peace De- mense advantage towards the overthrow of the rebel mocracy. Who originated and enacted that bloody York city one year ago? The Peace Democracy. the vast momentum which any work receives from a Who to-day are seeking to excite riot, plunder and combination of mutual sympathy, duty and interest the North to the hell of slavery. True, at the begin- guage or his action should habitually treat with disning of the rebellion, all that was manly and true to paragement or contumely that class from which our

Convention of Spiritualists in Chicago tried by threats and every means to bully and browbeat that Convenly to have postponed the overthrow of the rebellion. tion into silence respecting slavery and the rebellion. And silence is all the traitors, North and South, want.

They only wish to be let alone, that they may, withnent to slavery and slave labor, blot out the Republic only to create that number of colored soldiers, but to cemented by the blood, watered by the tears, and con- make them the most effective portion of our force secrated by the prayers of our fathers and mothers, against the enemy. Yes, the most effective; since the from the record of the world. To all who oppose situation of these people enabled the Government to their murderous designs, they cry, "Peace! Peace! offer them higher inducements to enter the service, Let us alone!" To the rioting, plundering, murder- and to act zealously and vigorously in it, than could ing and slave-mongering traitors they say, "War, be given to any other class of soldiers. war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!" On the By a single address to these colored people, such as tified with the slave-breeding traitors of the South. men whom she would thenceforth recognize as free The latter depend upon the former for triumph in and equal, urging their cooperation alike as soldiers their efforts to abolish freedom and establish slavery and as citizens against the common enemy, and over the nation and continent.

war of bullets to subjugate the North to slavery; bear rule in a Democratic nation.

daily and hourly. They are holding meetings in the most effective blow possible, both physical and many places in this State and in Indiana to organize, moral, would have been struck against those rebels; to arm, and to resist by blood and anarchy the elec- paralyzing their efforts, filling their whole region with tion of Lincoln, and to compel the North to submit to the terror which their oppressions have deserved, the demands of the slave-mongers. They openly de- keeping their soldiers at home for self-defence, and clare that the triumph of slavery over all the nation thus preventing their concentration in armies for the and the continent is preferable to the reëlection of defence of the rebellion, and even disposing the slave Lincoln, or the election of any man who favors the holders, in districts where the slaves were most nupolicy of emancipation. In their speeches and reso- merous, to favor their quiet departure to our side as lutions, they reiterate the peace platform of Jeff Davis | the least of two evils. and Co., as put forth in the Richmond Enquirer. The

"Save on our own terms, we can accept no peace "Save on our own terms, we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday rather than yield one iota of them." "The North must yield all—the South nothing." "We shall make no peace till we are in a position not only to demand and exact, but also to enforce and collect treasures for our own reimbursement out of the wealthy cities of the North. In other words, we shall make no peace till we have destroyed and scattered their armies. reimbursement out of the wealthy cities of North. In other words, we shall make no p till we have destroyed and scattered their arr and BROKEN UP THEIR GOVERNMENT. When y

Such are the terms of peace to which the Peace Democracy are arming and organizing to subjugate the North. They assert this, and use the very language of the above extracts in their speeches and resdebt of the South "-" shall give up its national existence "-" shall place itself at the mercy of its deadly foe "-" shall yield all, and the South nothing." They for the enemy! declare that this is what they mean by peace-the reenslavement of all made free by Proclamation, by Act of Congress, and by enlistment into the service of the United States; the abandonment of all the schools would rejoice to volunteer as United States soldiers, for the education of freedmen; the repeal of all Acts if the customary treatment and welcome of soldiers of Congress in relation to the abolition of slavery in were offered them, are now forcibly drafted into the the District and the Territories, and in relation to the army, treated as movable property, and subjected to abolition of the inter-State slave trade, and the fugi-tive-slave laws, the recognition of equal rights for the negro in the Federal courts, and of the nationality of ven by his guards to the recruiting rendezvous. Hayti and Liberia. All this the Peace Democracy Here is the order to this effect, just issued by Ger are now demanding in behalf of the kidnapping traiare now demanding in behalf of the kidnapping traitors, in order to conciliate them and induce them to return to the Union, and once more give supremacy to the slaveholding, slave-hunting Democracy. In a word, "PEACE," in the mouths of the Peace Democracy, as is shown by their speeches and resolutions, means the abolition of freedom and free institutions, and the complete triumph of slavery and slave institutions over the nation and continent—the death of the Republic, based on justice and liberty, and the life of the Confederacy, whose corner-stone is slavery. Shall Jesus, (the Republic,) the Messiah of freedom to earth's toiling millions, or the man-stealing, woman-whipping Barabbas be crucified? The Peace Democracy cry out, "Release Barabbas! Crucify Jesus!"

Banks in New Orleans:—

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, }

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, }

Sew Orleans:—

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, }

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 106. In pursuance of Paragraph II, General Orders No. 20, Headquarters Military Division of West Mississpip, all able-bodied men of color, between the ages of 18 and 40 years, will be enlisted for the military service of the United States Colored Troops. The several Parish Provost-Marshals will be furnished by the Superintendent of Negro Labor with lists of the employers and the number of men to be taken from each, taking as a basis the registers on file at this office. The above Provost-Marshals will cause the men thus designated to be produced at their respective offices, at such times as may be hereafter indicated, and will deliver them to the properly authorized recruiting officers, to be forwarded, under tors, in order to conciliate them and induce them to

And this is the one issue before the Peace Convention which is to meet in Chicago in one week; and that Convention, no matter in what language its spirit and intentions may be expressed, means to inaugurate civil war in the North, unless the North will consent to release the modern national Barabbas, (the Con federacy,) and crucify the national Messiah, (the American Republic.) Their sole and single object is, led on by Vallandigham, Wood, Seymour & Co., to ty, on the Republic and the Rebellion, and the Peace consign this nation and continent to the absolute, ur atrolled and irresponsible dominion of slavery, in What has been the one uniform howl of the slave- order that the Democratic party may once more, is mongers and their allies ever since you began the war of ideas, in earnest, against slavery? "Peace! land, and make it a huge barracoon, whose staple article of trade shall be, the bodies and souls of men and HENRY C. WRIGHT

## MISMANAGEMENT.

A soldier, some time since, in one of our regilions of the land, rather than have a civil war!" ments, was elevated to the rank of sergeant. While This has been the howl of the Peace Party of the in conversation, one evening, with some brother offi-North for thirty years. Their object has been to give cers in the camp, his name was loudly and repeatedly the entire North, bound hand and foot, into the bloody called, from a little distance. As he took no notice of hands of slave-breeders. This same Peace Party the summons, a friend called his attention to it; but

Party burned, plundered, and murdered the peaceful tle incident is, that soldiers whose leader habitually Who treated them and spoke of them in this manner would enacted the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? The Peace feel no great enthusiasm in following him into battle, Democracy. Who made the Dred Scott decision?

The Peace Democracy. Who split the Democratic on this small scale, as thoroughly as if he had been party at Charleston to favor the election of Lincoln, in order to give slaveholders an occasion to secede? The Peace Democracy. Who took eight States out er will form, in some manner, an attachment, a feel ing of affection or attraction between his soldiers and stole all the forts, arsenals, post-offices, and dock-yards himself, bringing this bond of interest in aid of such of the South, and organized and equipped thirty thousand troops to take Washington before Lincoln came cause. Looking at war, and the various details of into office? The Peace Democracy. Who sought to assassinate Lincoln, and prevent his inauguration? end, it is exceedingly important to establish a union The Peace Democracy. Who have been engaged in of feeling and interest between all the members and planning and preparing for this bloody war to destroy all the allies of the body united in waging it. So far the Republic, and erect a slave empire on its ruins, for as the establishment or invigoration of this feeling is thirty-five years? The Peace Democracy. Who neglected by a military leader, so far an element have labored and are now laboring to create a civil power is wasted, and the probability of success di-

victory? To the Peace Democracy of the as an inferior class in the community-if he (like the North. "Burn, plunder, devastate and murder wher- sergeant) should habitually speak of them as mere ever a friend of the Administration dares show his privates, a class to which no consideration need be Who adopt this as their party watchword? paid, on the score of either justice, or kindness, or commerce of the United States? Who rejoice in the and compelling their service when the State needs defeats and disasters of the Federal armies? Who it-he would act unwisely, would he not? To say constitutional prohibition of slavery? Who refuse to which such conduct would disclose in the President, vote money to reward the soldiers who are periling he would at least, would he not, throw away one im lion? He would lose that inspiration which hearty of riot, arson, plunder and murder in New enthusiasm gives to human action. He would lose murder in the towns and cities of the great North- in those who are laboring for it. He would show him-West? The Peace Democracy. The party is the self, so far, unfit for the office of Commander-in-Chief same which for thirty years has sought to consign while the nation is engaged in war. And if his lanfreedom and free institutions left the foul conspirators armies are recruited, the mass of the population of the when they opened fire on Sumter, and began the United States, this would prove his unfitness ever to

But towards one class of our soldiers, and the popbut who repudiated Douglas, Cass, Morton, Yates, Dickinson, Butler, Boutwell, Forney, and a host of ulation which supplies them, the colored people of this leading Northern Democrats, because they refused to country, the President's attitude has been strikingly be traitors in support of slavery? The Peace Democ- cold and hard, unsympathetic, discourteous and un just. And this attitude, copied as it is by a large proportion of our white officers and soldiers, has operated

The population in question, four millions and a ha out resistance, subjugate the entire nation and conti-

horror of this civil war against freedom and for sla- vantageously and constitutionally, any day since the very. The Peace Democracy of the North are iden- war commenced, calling them to the Nation's side as pledging to them the protection of the army and the The Peace Democracy are maturing their plans nation in a simultaneous movement against the rebels.

These great advantages-transferring an immens force from the side of the rebels to that of the nation, obstructing the movements of the enemy in every

After a year of war, the business of recruiting and BROKEN UP THEIR GOVERNMENT. When we have done that, we ought not only to extort from the North our own full terms, and ample acknowledgment of their wrong, but also full indemnity for the trouble and expense caused to us by their crime." "Once more we say, it is all or nothing. This Confederacy or the Yankee nation, one or the other, must go down—down to perdition. One or the other must forfeit its national existence, and lie at the mercy of its mortal enemy." "As surely as we triumph, so surely will we make the North pay our sear debt, though we wring it out of their hearts."

After a year of war, the business of recruiting slackened, and was obliged to be stimulated by bouncies, State and National; then repeated drafts were offered to supply the deficiency; and these processes, the offer of large bounties, and the enforcement of an extensive draft upon an unwilling population, are still going on. If these were the only means by which soldiers could be raised for the nation's defence, no-body would complain. But through all these years, hundreds of thousands of willing men, heartily desirous to become soldiers of the United States, livhundreds of thousands of willing men, heartily de-sirous to become soldiers of the United States, living in the very region where the war is waged, acquainted with the country and with the enemy's resources, accustomed to the Southern climate, and more vitally interested in the success of our arms ons. They say "the North shall pay the war than even the white soldiers, have been standing left under the compulsion of doing military service

Well, all this was bad enough; but of late an ele-Banks in New Orleans :-

liberately chosen which makes reluctant soldiers, unwilling subjects, degraded and dissatisfied allies, out of those who might, by just and fair treatment, be inspired with the highest energies of enthusiastic patriotism in our behalf. Yet this is the policy which President Lincoln chooses, and which he is now executing by Gen. Banks in Louisiana.—c. K. W.

## SHALL THE NATION LIVE?

LOCKPORT, (Will Co.) Ill., Aug. 22, 1864. Ww. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR PRIEND,—As a friend of the slave, I have watched with anxious eyes and palpitating heart the action of the Government during the rebellion. I have also watched as anxiously your course, and that of many others of our great co-workers in the cause of the slave. I have felt many, very many times the necessity of criticising the action of the Administration for its shortcomings, but have ever been willing and ready to give it credit for every advance step it are, and now will tell who I am, as I am well known. DEAR PRIEND,-As a friend of the slave, I have have also watched as anxiously your course, and that of many others of our great co-workers in the cause of the slave. I have felt many, very many times the necessity of criticising the action of the Administra-tion for its shortcomings, but have ever been willing and ready to give it credit for every advance step it

The question before us to day is the condition of the nation, and our duty in this its great trial hour. We must first settle this question-Shall the nation live? The liberty of the slave depends on the life of the nation. The hopes of this and the next generation will be crushed or realized in the issue of the struggle. and the friends of freedom have no strength to wast on side issues. The damning spirit of the opposition is manifest everywhere, and nowhere of late has it vention of Spiritualists at Chicago. When the reso lutions on the state of the nation came before that body, treason was rampant, and the clique led by Judge Carter and Amanda Spence, who could prate of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherho Man, ranged themselves on the side of the enslavers of men and the traitors to their country. These tools of slavery cry "Peace! Peace!" and all they mean is the supremacy of slavery and the triumph of Jeff. Davis. The same spirit animates the whole Copperhead Democracy; and can we, as lovers of human rights, and as the long-tried friends of the slave, have any sympathy with this class, or do aught, directly or indirectly, to strengthen this element? God forbid! Would we save the Government, we must all put our shoulders to the wheel, and his or her vision must be more than dim that does not see clearly that at present we need our united strength to conquer and overcome the desperate foe.

Let us raily, then, to the side of the pation! Let us work heartily and hopefully for the salvation of our beloved country ! And he or she amongst us shall be best and noblest, who, forgetting all petty personal issues, or pride of former opinions, shall remember nothing but the old love of the cause of the slave, and the present demands of the hour. If we work in unison, we can conquer : if we are divided, treason may be triumphant. Let us have again, as at the commencement of the struggle, the silver tones and clarion ring of Phillips on the only side and in the only position that can possibly help the slave and defeat the

Yours for the Government. GEORGE LYNN.

THE COLORED TROOPS AT PETERSBURG.

CAMP 6TH REGT. U. S. COLORED TROOPS, Near Point of Rocks, Aug. 8, 1864. Editors Independent Democrat :- It is not often that the desire to be famous so overpowers me as to make me "write for the papers," but looking over the New York Herald of Saturday, August 6th, I saw an anonymous communication, headed: "A Military Spectator's Statement of the Causes of the Failure of the Assault "—giving an account of the assault so notoriously garbled and misrepresented that I cannot pass over it in silence. I will premise by saying that I do not belong to General Ferrero's colored division or the Ninth Corps d' Armes. The article begins:—

" To the Editors of the Herald :- I will endeavor to

road at three o'clock in the morning; that the mine on Burnside's front would be fired at half-past three o'clock, and to hold themselves in readiness to charge after Burnside and the Eighteenth Corps."

But the point of his communication comes when, soon after, he goes on to say:—

Now, the above is a malicious perversion of facts, which is the most polite way I know of telling the writer that he talks just as I do when I lie. For inwriter that he talks just as I do when I ne. For in-stance: instead of "five minutes delay," more than an hour was supposed to elapse in artillery firing upon the already demoralized enemy, thereby giving them time to collect and reassure their badly upon the already demoralized enemy, thereby giving them time to collect and reassure their badly frightened men. Again, not a negro was in the front line. Gen. Ledlie's division, of the Ninth Corps d'Armes, had the advance. Three brigades of white troops compose the division. Next came Gen. Ferrero's division of colored troops in the second line. Gen. Ledlie's men took the first line, and opinion to the contrary is due to a narrowness of intend of rushing on to the second they storned. of white troops compose the division. Next came Gen. Ferrero's division of colored troops in the second line. Gen. Ledlie's men took the first line, and instead of rushing on to the second, they stopped and went to digging up the cannon from the demolished fort. After more than an bour's delay, they formed and stormed the second line; but the rebels had formed also, and our men were driven back in formed and stormed the second line; but the rebels had formed also, and our men were driven back in disorder. Then, after veteran white troops were driven back, the colored division was ordered up to take their places, and of course were driven back, not disorganized, for they charged a second time, and were driven back a second time with a terrible loss. But another quotation from our "Military Spectator." He says : loss. But another quotat Spectator." He says:—

"The second brigade of niggers (three thousand five hundred strong) marched over them, followed by a brigade of white troops, one thousand two hundred

After telling how they planted their colors in the second line, he comes out in flourishing capitals, and

"Three Hundred Rebels Rout Three Thousand Niggers. When they reached the second line, a mere squad of three hundred rebels made their apperance, and the niggers, without firing a shot, by 
shoving to the left, pushed the one thousand two hundred white men on their left into the mine, and then 
turned tail and run away until they got clear back 
into our lines. These three hundred men drove back 
twice these one thousand two hundred—first, by 
themselves, and then when they came down reinforced. For these one thousand two hundred there 
was no retreat; their position was in the rear of the 
rebel main line, so that the rebels were between them 
and us."

Now I process to contradict the above "the 
Now I process to contradict the shows "the 
Now I process to contradict the second line, 
apparatus, &c., for camp ife. They succeeded in 
running the Gallops, Rapid du Plat, and the north 
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upon the shore. The peril of the undertaking will be better understood when we state that the swells washed over the boat, half filling it with water, one Now I propose to contradict the above "by detail," as we say in the army. First and foremost, no colored man has been known to "run without firing a shot." One reason wby they are not so good pickets as white men is, that unless very well drilled and disciplined, they will fire at every poor bush, tree or stump within rifle charge. Again, it is absurd to state that a brigade will stop, while 'the most splendid rapid of the whole lot to run.'

proper escort, to the recruiting rendezvous at New under fire, to crowd another brigade into a hole by orieans.

If the object were to disgust soldiers with the service, could any means more effectual be devised!

For this Government, even while fighting against slaveholders, to use the slaveholders' methods of violence and contumely against the colored people, is bad and foolish enough; but the very height of folly and perversity seems to be reached when a policy is deliberately chosen which makes reluctant soldiers, un.

known that Burnside had four divisions, of three brigades each, engaged, and our losses amounted to over five thousand. He writes that it "was all over by 12 o'clock," but the fact is that the final charge of the rebels was not made until after two o'clock, P. M.

I have already contradicted the most of his misstatements, and now I want to show up a little of

is military learning.

Had he been a military man, he would not have

are, and now will tell who I am, as I am well known particularly to many of your readers. I enlisted the 29th of April, 1861, and have been connected with the army ever since. I was with the 2d N. H. until the 23d of September, 1863, when I was discharged to enter the Sixth Regiment Colored Troops. I have seen the negroes in camp, in the field, on the march, and in a severe fight; and my opinion that they will make good soldiers is formed from actual experience in the field. Begging your pardon for troubling you so much,

edient servant, ENOCH F. JACKMAN,

### GEN. SHERMAN'S LETTER.

Gen. W. T. Sherman is an officer for whose military ability we cherish very great respect, and of whose unqualified devotion to the Union we nev-er entertained a doubt. There are few soldiers who er entertained a doubt. There are few soldiers who have done better service in the field than he, or whose opinions on matters touching the war are entitled to be more carefully considered. At the same time, he is well known to be a man capacitor, crotchets, and if wrong-headed at all likely to be extremely so. His letter on Recruiting in the rebellious States will serve as an instance. Its fundatal idea is to crush the Rebellion in the thorough and expeditious manner; yet the letter can have no other effect than to throw obstacles in e path he wishes to tread

We do not controvert his opinion as to the prac-

ticability of recruiting in North-Western Georgia He ought to know, and we presume does know, better than any body else about that. But when he extends his criticisms to cover the whole field, there are others who are in a position to judge more accurately than Gen. Sherman. His main objec-tions resolve themselves into two: 1, That the law hinders enlistments, and 2, That negroes are better fitted for teamsters than for soldiers. It so happen that on each of these points General Sherman is neither familiar with the facts, nor able to testify as an expert to matters of opinion.

There is no evidence that the law has hindered

recruiting. No effort has been made to operate under it, except by Massachusetts, the Governors of other States being hostile or apathetic. Can Gen. Sherman say it has obstructed enlistments in Massachusetts? It is but a few days since that State sent 5,000 men to the State sent 5,000 men to the war, who had been raised, armed, equipped, and drilled in twenty-five days. These men came forward in response neither to a draft nor a call, but were tendered to the Government by Gov. Andrew—all which was sub-States. Nor were these 5,000 men required to fill any deficiency then existing, for it is on ord in the Bureau at Washington, that before this last enlistment, on the first of June, 1864, Massachusetts had furnished 5,000 soldiers in excess of all calls to that date—and this without counting her 30,000 or 40,000 seamen and marines. A State that has done that much for the Union can bear with equanimity the implied reproaches of Gen. Sherman, and can treat with contempt the lavish abuse of Copperhead journals.

II. Gen. Sherman does not re

II. Gen. Sherman does not read the newspapers, or he would long ere this have learned that Negroes do make good soldiers, and have abundant-Petersburg."

He goes on to relate at length the strategic movements of the Second Army Corps and Sheridan's Cavalry, for two or three days previous to the assault, and I presume tells something that might be recognized by the participants in those movements. He then goes on to state:

"On the 29th of July, the Second (Regular) Division of the Fifth Corps received orders about ten would share in the general opinion of Negro courage and military capacity. Testified to by such officers as Gen. Seymour and Gen. W. F. Smith, both West Pointers and both Pro-Slavery men, the Commander facts would pass muster even with the Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi.

after Burnside and the Eighteenth Corps."

Again, Gen. Sherman forgets that the negroes find in their military service a transitional stage from Slavery to uncontrolled freedom of inestimable value to them. The arrow has been described in the statement of the meaning of the m value to them. The army has been deemed a good school of discipline even for white men. To the black, with his uneducated instincts, with a new fusoon after, he goes on to say:—

"As soon as the mine was blown up, which engulphed seven companies of the rebels and four cannon, the niggers and white men were to charge. But another unfortunate delay took place. Five minutes' delay took place in marching up after the mine had gone up. The reason was the cowardice of the Republic of which he is to become a citizen. The brigade in advance, which was composed entirely of niggers, laid down their arms, and refused to charge."

Now, the above is a malicious perversion of facts, which is the most polite way I know of telling the writer that he talks just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he talk is just as I do when I lie. For ingular that he lash needing to be implanted in him, its lessons can never be so appropriate as to-day, and never more indispensable to his welfare and that of the Republic of which he is to become a citizen. He will acquire more than education; he will acquire that the knowledge of obedience to other restraints than the lash needing to be implanted in him, its lessons can never be so appropriate as to-day, and the lash needing to be implanted in him, its given him a homestead and made him independent of that public charity which, for so many thousands of blacks hurled into a free existence, the essential conditions of which they but faintly understood, has been necessarily called upon. For his sake and ours, were but his just rights as a soldier secured to

A PERILOUS TRIP.

RUNNING THE RAPIDS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE IN The Prescott (Canada) Telegraph has the following account of a hazardous exploit:

"During the latter part of July, two men, named Violet Jones, of the Fusileer Guards, and Robert Welch, of Mr. Barker's exchange office, Prescott, left here on a trip to Montreal, intending to run the rapids of the St. Lawrence. They started in a laprapids of the St. Lawrence. They started in a lap-streak skiff, twenty-one feet long, three feet six inches beam, and carried with them two pairs of oars, a sail and a tent, with the necessary cooking apparatus, &c., for camp life. They succeeded in running the Gallops, Rapid du Plat, and the north channel of the Long Sault as far as the point, the same evening. Being afraid to venture the remain-der of the channel, they carried their boat and traps across the island to the head of the South Channel, but the darkness was so intense that they considered 'discretion the better part of valor,' and they camped

The Slit Rock nearly finished our adve Being unacquainted with the channel, they took to north shore, and when only about one hundred reoff, in a very swift current, they saw ahead of the a fail of about seven feet. By hard pulling a a fall of about seven teet. By nare pulling an good steering, however, they succeeded in making the 'Old Lock,' on the north side, when an a the 'Old Lock, on the both were within reach of the lock. They here struck an eddy and went back the fock. They here struck an edgy and went bet to the head, when a passing raft pointed out the channel, and amid some good swells they descend the rapids in safety.

rapids in safety. Then came the Cascades. Here they were alvised by a gentleman whom they met not to run them, as the Cascades had never be to run them, as the Cascades had never been ran by anything smaller than a batteau, and he was sent they would be drowned. Notwithstanding thin they determined to proceed, and were anxiously watched determined to proceed, and were anxiously watched determined to proceed, and were anxiously watched in their perilous journey by the gentleman above spoken of. The first pitch was passed safely; at its second, however, the boat went down, and struck whether the bottom or a rock they could not of whether the bottom or a rock they could not of course, say. She, however, raised, they supposed by the force of the current, although filled with ware, and was carried about thirty yards to a fixedly rock. The moment they struck still water, the but sunk. The rock before spoken of, however, wa near, and, though small, here they bailed out the heart and prepared to start again. Managing boat and prepared to start again. Mou lonely rock, they took a view of the sime anxiously desirous to change their base, but no am-tance could there reach them, and noten rolens, they had to take to their boat again. A point tance could there reach them, and notess roless, they had to take to their boat again. A point ahead was selected, and they determined if the boat should swamp in the rapids ahead, they would stick to her as long as she was kept up by the current and their lustily-plied oars, and then abandoning her, swim for oe point.

"Although badly tossed, however, the still kept

"Although badly tossed, however, she still kept up, and, about half filled with water, bravely she came out of this latter peril. They reached the point, bailed their boat, hoisted sail, and started across Lake St. Peter, reaching the Nun's Island that night, where they camped. This was a good day's work. Seven rapids, large and small, were passed, and two lakes, making a distance of about the control of the control passed, and two lakes, unaming a distance of about seventy miles; and although wet to the skin, they slept soundly, feeling thankful, it is to be hoped, to a bountiful Providence, to whose protective hand a boundful Providence, to whose protective had they, in a peculiar manner, this day owed their lites. The next morning they reached Canghawaga, and were here strongly advised by a gentleman from the this new danger. But they had passed through many perils safely that they had no notion of on their self-imposed task until they had complete They accordingly did run the Lachine Rapi

and ran it safely and without adventure, thus may ing the entire trip from Prescott to Montrel in a skiff of one hundred pounds weight, with about ite hundred and twelve pounds load, including baggage, their own weight, etc.

"All the rapids were run stern first. The reach for this is that a better brace may be obtained with the oars in this position—the boat being at the con-plete command of the man at the oars, who, beside, goes down facing the danger. In such place a quick eye and steady hand are imperative, and even these, we should imagine, would hardly insure as-ty at all times. We hope Messrs. Welch and Joss will not find many imitators."

## A COLORED CORRESPONDENT.

A COLORED CORRESPONDENT.

The chief topic of interest at headquarter today was the arrival in camp of Mr. Chester, a colord gentleman, who presented his credentials to Gen. Baler as the authorized reporter in the field of the Philadelphia (Forney's) Press. Riding up to the tent of the Commanding General, he dismounted and entered. Upon announcing his business, he was asked to be seated, and thereupon presented his letter of intoduction from Mr. Young, managing editor of the Pros. Gen. Butler read it and endorsed it, directing that Mr. Chester be permitted to pass everywhere within our lines. He suggested that he should take up his bed-quarters with Gen. Payne's (colored) division, in front of Petersburg, and gave him some general and appropriate instructions touching his duties as a miliappropriate instructions touching his duties as a military correspondent; whereupon he remounted his horse and retired—not, however, before asking Gen Butler to furnish him with a horse, to which the repl was that the Quartermasters of the army were set charged with the mounting of newspaper correspondents of the army. Then he went away.—Corr. of the N. Y. Herald.

BRAVERY OF THE NEGRO TROOPS. The Army orrespondent of the Chicago Tribune, writing "is ont of Petersburg, August 9, 1864," and giving a ecount of our late disastrous repulse, says:—

As to the negro troops, they followed their officen into the very jaws of death, and not until their leaders were nearly all shot down did they flind from the contest. Any other statement is purely a nalignant lie, come from whatever source it may. Among these our own

59th U. S. COLORED TROOPS

raised mainly in this State, wild portions from consin and Missouri, were conspicuous for their a lantry and soldierly bearing. They had the sdrain of the charge, led by their heroic chief, Lieuten Colonel John A. Bross. It was to him especially, see the charge in the Colonel John A. Bross. It was to him especially, and the officers of his regiment and brigade, as lexing the charge directly into the very centre of the twendoug fire of grape and canister, that the expressions of the staff officers in yesterday's letter referred. They had seen more than a score of the most terrible battles of the war, and never witnessed heroism so noble, so truly self-sacrificing and sublime. Through and beyond the exploded fort, already piled with the dead and dying, and with skulkers from the advance, Colonel Bross led his brigade, one color bearer ster another being shot down, reached the inside line, and mounting it he seized the colors himself in his kind, and waving his sword he cried, "Rally, my brave boys, rally! forward!" and fell to rise nomen.

OFFER TO DEFEND A COLORED SOLDIEL The Nashville Times contains a correspondence between Messrs. Bunts and Lindsay, attorneys in that city, and Colonel R. D. Mussey, commanding the colored troops, in relation to a colored soldier who had, while as guard, killed a citizen, and was to be tried by commartial. The legal gentlemen offer their services for his defence. Colonel Mussey replies:

his defence. Colonel Mussey replies:

"In behalf of the soldier in quession, and of the organization I have in charge, I thank you for your generous and patriotic offer. I also thank you is behalf of the national government, whose agent I am in organizing colored troops, for your hearty recogniso of the wisdom of its policy in arming the negros, as for your willingness to sustain it here, against the liter local prejudices it encounters. But I trust then will be no need for your professional services in the particular case in which you have tendered theaperticular case in which you have tendered theaperticular case in which you have tendered then investigation of the circumstances attending the hooting of Willis, decided that the soldier did right, and cleared him from arrest, and restored home accept ing of Willis, decided that the soldier me non-cleared him from arrest, and restored him to duly Should the matter, however, ever come before a cont martial, I will most thankfully avail myed, in his soldier's behalf, of your proffered assistance."

REBELS CAPTURED BY NEGRO TROOPS. The Point Lookout correspondent of the Baltimo

"On Friday last, three hundred and thirtyding rebels arrived from Petersburg and the front. The say they were captured by the negro troops led ing to Gen. Burnside's corps. They belonged to it and 18th South Carolina. They say that he is a superior of the say that 3d and 18th South Carolina. They say as go troops shot them down by hundreds, sall its with the greatest difficulty that the officers of he negro troops could make them desist, the segres is the time yelling out, 'Remember Fort Pillor'. The men give the officers of the negro troops greatered for their humanity in rescuing them fors craif for their humanity in rescuing them fors craif will fight. They belonged to a portion of the ryments blown up by the explosion, and claim that they only lost three genuine gans, the rest being Qukken or wooden guns." or wooden guns."

REBEL MONARCHISTS ABBOAD. "Malaked writes to the New York Times from Paris, that hatters of democracy in France esponse the case the rebels because they fancy they are congenial at the rebels because they fancy they are congenial as

"I am sorry to say, also, that a certain portion of the Southern people are willing to accept this speciation of their cause, and that it is no longer as usual thing to hear them declare that a monarchial the only durable form of government, and the Cathe ile Church the most appropriate of religious for Southern ideas. A wide coares sion to the Catholic Church is already going en.

It is possible that these rebel adventurer shed would profess any notions, political or religious, in or der to carry favor for their cause.

The Mobile News publishes an account of the death of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and remarks that he was one of the few literary men of the North what ympathies were with them.